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THE OLD CHATTERTON

A Brief History of a Famous Old Opera House

BY GEORGE W. BUNN, JR.

LONG before it was even the New Chatterton it was Rudolph's Opera House. Built in 1866 at a reputed cost of $160,000, it far surpassed the various halls which up to this time had housed theatrical and other entertainments in Springfield. Like most of its predecessors it was a second-story room over a store, but the visitor to Rudolph's, having ascended the narrow stairway that led from Jefferson Street, saw a room much larger than most, sumptuously decorated in white enamel and gold, with a stage flanked on either side by a tier of elaborately carved boxes, and a balcony suspended by iron rods from the ceiling.

A surprisingly wide variety of entertainment appeared there. This was the heyday of the lecturer, comic and cosmic, from Artemus Ward to Ralph Waldo Emerson; concerts were much in vogue; amateur theatricals were exceedingly popular; and occasionally a full fledged professional company arrived in town. In the thirteen years of its existence Rudolph's boasted such famous visitors as Edwin Booth, Charlotte Cushman, Lawrence Barrett, Edwin Forrest, Mrs. Siddons and Charlotte Crabtree, known as Lotta.

The proprietor, Robert Rudolph, had come to Springfield as master-brewer for Reisch and Kunz. He was a

man of considerable education and ability, and before long owned his own brewery, which for a while was very successful. He commemorated his good fortune by building not only an Opera House but a show-place of a residence, which he surrounded with two or three acres of elaborately landscaped grounds. After his death in the middle 70's the Opera House was purchased by Jacob Bunn, Sr., and the residence by William T. Hughes. The Opera House continued as heretofore, providing a haven for local Thespians and harboring such professionals as dared the hazards of the road in the increasingly hard times of the 70's. But on March 17, 1876, Rudolph's came near to being the scene of a real tragedy. Some entertainment had been given there, and not long after the hall had been emptied of spectators and performers a blaze was discovered. There is a story that Mr. Bunn, upon being awakened with the news that the Opera House was burning down, remarked that *he* couldn't put it out, and turned over and went to sleep again. The fire department could do little better; the building was almost completely destroyed. It was rebuilt, and three years later was sold to George W. Chatterton, Sr., the proprietor of a jewelry and variety store on the west side of the public square.

It is doubtful whether the elder Mr. Chatterton took much of a hand in the management of the new enterprise, but his son had a real love of, and flair for, the theatre. Plans for extensive rebuilding were immediately begun, and word got about that the new structure would be "the finest theatre in the middle-west." Even in theatrical parlance, where superlatives are sometimes discounted, this was no idle rumor. A New York architect was commissioned, the famous Union Square Thea-

tre was used as a model, work proceeded briskly, and on September 10, 1879, Chatterton's Opera House, the Chatterton's we all remember, of gilt and red plush and enormous chandelier, was formally opened. The attraction was a gala concert, with Mlle. Marie Litta (from Bloomington, Ill.) as the leading luminary. Old residents occasionally find, among their souvenirs, a program of this opening-night performance, printed on silk.

As it chanced, the opening of Chatterton's coincided with the beginning of the lushest and most prosperous era in the American theatre. It was the day of the great managers, who gathered about them the most able and promising actors they could find, and gave their productions painstaking rehearsal and attention to detail. Lester Wallack, dean of the group, was already established in New York, and he was followed by such others as Augustin Daly, A. M. Palmer, Daniel Frohman, David Belasco and, in the field of musical comedy, Henry W. Savage. New York was of course the center of things theatrical, but it was inevitable that in time these productions should venture out into a hinterland that was eager to receive them, and here Springfield was thrice favored. Being midway between Chicago and St. Louis it was easily accessible, it boasted the "finest opera house in the middle-west," and it turned out with capacity houses to greet them.

The list of visitors to Chatterton's in the first decade of its history reads like a Who's Who of the American stage. There were John McCullough in "Richard III," F. B. Warde and Maurice Barrymore in "Diplomacy" (with a young actor named John Drew in the cast), Fanny Davenport in "London Assurance," Adelaide

Neilson in "Twelfth Night," Mme. Fanny Janauschek in "Macbeth," Nat Goodwin in "Hobby," the D'Oyly Carte Players in "Pinafore" and "The Pirates of Penzance," Mrs. Scott Siddons in "King Rene's Daughter," Joe Jefferson in "The Cricket on the Hearth," Stuart Robson and William H. Crane in "The Cherubs," James O'Neill in "Monte Christo," the ageing but perdurable Lotta in "Musette," lovely Rose Coghlan in "As You Like It," Mrs. Langtry in "An Unequal Match," Sol Smith Russell in "Edgewood Folks," Rose Eytinge in "Princess of Paris," the incomparable Mary Anderson in "Romeo and Juliet."

The list could be doubled. These of course were the highlights; there were plenty of lesser luminaries in between—actors long forgotten in plays not worth remembering. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was still a hardy perennial, "Peck's Bad Boy" had begun his prankish career, and the Hon. William F. Cody shot from the hip in "The Knight of the Plains." Musical comedy was finding itself, and Jessie Bartlett Davis arrived in "The Sleeping Queen" and Fay Templeton in "Coquette," with Edward Rice's "Evangeline" and "The Bohemian Girl" coming after. On a somewhat different level were the burlesques, and our fathers *could* have seen (and unquestionably did) May Fisk's English Blondes, "The Black Crook" with 20 Beautiful Amazons led by Miss Minnie Palmer, "The Parisian Rouget Soiree" with Lillian Clay. There was no end of minstrel shows, chief among them Barlowe, Primrose and West's, and concerts, vocal and instrumental, with Patti and Nillson heading the list. Lecturers lectured, with benefit of stereoptican slides; educated dogs and ponies went through their paces; rabbits popped out of prestidigitators' hats,

RYAN'S COUGH SYRUP CURES.

THE FOOTLIGHT

CHATTERTON'S OPERA HOUSE

J. H. FREEMAN, Manager.

PROGRAMME.

VOL. 6. SPRINGFIELD, ILL., FEBRUARY 20, 1884. No. 68

THE POPULAR YOUNG ACTOR,

Mr. Jas. O'Neill,

AS EDMUND DANTES,

WITH

MR. JOHN STETSON'S

NEW YORK NEW YORK

MONTE CRISTO COMPANY,

Originally organized for Booth's Theatre, New York City, by Mr. JOHN STETSON, Manager Fifth Avenue Theatre, New York, and Globe Theatre, Boston.

PROGRAMME CONTINUED ON THIRD PAGE.

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THE CHATTERTON PROGRAM FOR "MONTE CRISTO," FEATURING JAMES O'NEILL

and local amateurs were forever active. John C. Pierik seems to have been Springfield's favorite low comedian; he bobs in and out of every show that needed a German immigrant or a cop. Prof. J. C. Feitshans' class in Elocution took the boards with annual regularity, and the walls of Chatterton's rang to the "Seminole's Defiance" by W. A. Starne, and the "Beggar's Petition" by Tom C. Kimber. What must have been a gala evening was December 20, 1883, when "Esmerelda," a comedy, was presented with Hallie Elliott in the title role, supported by Ada Richardson, Lulu Black, Gertrude Dement, Will Tracy, John W. Black, Jacob Bunn, Jr., Tom Kimber and C. H. Lanphier, Jr. Now and then Chatterton's was the scene of an event other than theatrical, as on March 3, 1880, when Charles Stewart Parnell sat on the stage and listened to eulogies by Gov. Shelby Cullom and the Hon. Clinton Conkling. And local theatre-goers were faced with a pretty dilemma in December of '85, when two attractions solicited their patronage almost simultaneously. On the 9th the ladies of the Second Presbyterian Church gave a series of Tableaux Vivants, with, as an added attraction, a special drill by the Governor's Guard, Captain Brinkerhoff calling commands. And twenty-four hours later came a young actress by name of Lillian Russell in "Billee."

Many Springfield merchants, in the 80's, used the Chatterton program to advertise their wares. Men's clothing could be bought from E. A. Hall, Conway or Myers' Great Bargain Emporium, or from B. Lundhall, Artistic Tailor and Draper. The Hickox Steam Laundry would keep you spic and span. The St. Nicholas Hotel Barber Shop solicited the family wash from a rather different approach, calling attention in bold type to

their Hot and Cold Baths. Among druggists were Ryan, Fleury and Dodds. Schoettker and Gehring were making the Red Label Cigar. Fred Smith's Fancy Bazaar, with little restraint, announced that it was Headquarters for Everything. Ladies bought bonnets at Bunker's and staple and fancy groceries at Connelly's and Wickersham's. Henry S. Eifert's German Reed & String Band would furnish music for any occasion. The Springfield City Railway stated that it was extending service from 6 A.M. to 11 P.M on the Capitol Avenue, Monument and Rolling Mill lines. There was no dearth of fine places to eat, many with a continental flavor. For instance, J. Maldaner invited you to the European Restaurant on South Fifth Street, or you could go to Delaney's French Cafe and Saloon, or you could take your *plat du jour* at the Cafe de Paris at 120 North Fifth Street.

The eighteen-eighties turned into the Gay Nineties and Chatterton's went blithely on its way. Some old favorites dropped by the wayside but their places were taken by others. Denman Thompson came in "The Old Homestead," Thomas W. Keene in "Richard III," Robert Mantell in "The Face in the Moonlight," Willie Collier in "Hoss and Hoss," Virginia Harned in "Lady Windermere's Fan." There followed E. M. Holland and Ida Conquest in "Alabama," Chauncey Olcott in "Mavourneen," Marie Tempest in "The Fencing Master," Richard Mansfield in "Beau Brummel," Julia Marlowe in "As You Like It," Joe Jefferson in "Rip Van Winkle," William Gillette in "Secret Service," Walker Whiteside in "Hamlet." These, again, were the highlights, and the gaps between were filled with the various and invariable second-best. One or two observations seem pertinent: there was a notable advance in the art

of playwriting—a native and indigenous drama was in the making. Clyde Fitch was represented by "Beau Brummel" and Augustus Thomas by "Arizona." Not in the same class but enormously popular and thoroughly American was Charles T. Dazey's "In Old Kentucky." And musical comedy was growing up into an adult and artistic form of entertainment. Jerome Sykes came in "The Knickerbockers" by Reginald De Koven and Harry B. Smith, Tom Q. Seabrooke in "The Isle of Champagne," De Wolf Hopper and Della Fox in "Panjandrum," Eddie Foy and Marie Cahill in "Little Robinson Crusoe," Camille d'Arville in "Madeline."

Lecturers became fewer and fewer as the Nineties wore on; they appear to have been represented chiefly by Miss Mona Mora, of Boston, who spoke on "Physical, Mental and Moral Culture," and danced aesthetically and recited in between. In the field of magic Kellar the Great vied with the Great Hermann. There was an upsurge of minstrelsy, with Haverly's, Fields', and Primrose and West's returning again and again. The Chatterton chandelier shook to the martial strains of John Philip Sousa's band. The Yale Glee Club arrived and sang "For God, For Country, and For Yale," which, as any Princeton man can tell you, is the classic example of anticlimax. John C. Pierik, now of Sommer and Pierik, Watches & Jewelry, continued as Springfield's most popular amateur low comedian, but the great event in amateur circles (indeed the *two* great events) were the performances, on December 6 and 31, 1894, of William H. Shutt, Jr.'s comedy of Harvard life, "A Rabbit's Foot." Willett Stebbins directed the cast, which was all-star and contained Edward Ridgely, J. B. Barnaby, Will Patton, R. N. Dodds, and the Misses

Octavia Roberts and Ella and Leonora Henkle.

One of the dangers of a very brief history is a too facile concentration into a short space, of events which were actually spread rather thin. There were nights when Chatterton's was dark and Springfield stayed home and played euchre or read E. P. Roe or even went to bed; there were nights, too, when Chatterton's, as brightly lighted as for Ada Rehan, gave itself over to drama of a different genre. The Ten-Twenty-and Thirty came; the gallery-gods and their best girls took possession of the orchestra and parquet; villainy sneered and plotted, virtue pleaded, while stout hearts triumphed to wildest applause. Witness "Lost in New York," "The Train Wreckers," "Underground," "The Smugglers," Steve Brodie in "On the Bowery," "The Denver Express," and John L. Sullivan in "The Wicklow Postman." This latter date, if you care to know, was January 26, 1896. Three months later came his conqueror, the then world champion, Gentleman Jim Corbett, in "A Naval Cadet." And a year and a quarter after that, Corbett, (an ex-champion now, alas!) came back to Chatterton's and the occasion was historic. The date was July 12, 1897—he returned in a motion-picture! A "veriscope," it was called. It was spotty and dim and it flickered, and when the great man went down in the 14th round the compound word "solar-plexus" was born of his travail. The date was historic for another and very personal reason, for among the matinee audience there sat, on the edge of his chair, a small boy of seven, going on eight. It is his first clear remembrance of Chatterton's. From there on remembrances come thick and fast.

Curiously it is exactly here, in the summer of 1897, that the file of theatrical programs in the Illinois State

JOHN MCCULLOUGH
AS "SPARTACUS," 1879

RICHARD MANSFIELD
AS "BEAU BRUMMELL," 1890

Photos from the Henry B. House Collection

Historical Library abruptly ends. The compiler of this brief and informal history must henceforward work his way through miles and miles of newspaper columns or trust to memory. He chooses the lazier and pleasanter course. In what follows, therefore, chronology may be somewhat out of step at times.

But it is easy to recall that there came to Chatterton's, around the turn of the century and shortly thereafter, Frank Daniels in "The Wizard of the Nile," Maude Adams in "The Little Minister," John W. Ransome in "The Prince of Pilsen," Ethel Barrymore in "Cousin Kate," Montgomery and Stone in "The Wizard of Oz," Joe Jefferson in "Rip Van Winkle," a lady with red hair (it must have been Mrs. Leslie Carter) in "The Heart of Maryland." Richard Mansfield arrived in his private car to play that night in "Julius Caesar," and in the afternoon strolled the streets of Springfield arm in arm with his young private secretary and treasurer, Henry B. House. George M. Cohan appeared in "Little Johnny Jones," Macklyn Arbuckle in George Ade's "The County Chairman," Raymond Hitchcock in "King Dodo." And after weeks of rehearsing, "Checkers" had its premiere at Chatterton's, and the author, Henty M. Blossom, was called to the curtain by his many local friends for a speech. The leading role was played by that fine young actor, Thomas W. Ross, whom you may recall as the fine old actor in "Our Town" only three seasons ago.

There was much excitement in front of Chatterton's on show night, particularly if it were a stormy winter evening with long lines of hired hacks from Little's and Salzenstein's pulling briskly up to the curb. Just inside the main doorway to the left was the ticket-office,

where George Hickox and Bill Cave took care of late-comers or, as so frequently happened, turned them away. (Wiser heads had ordered well in advance, and not a few had standing orders for their favorite seats in orchestra and parquet.) A wire partition divided the lobby in two; the audience converged at the opening where Ches Carpenter took their tickets, and then formed into three streams, the galleryites clambering up the stairway to the left, the balconyites proceeding more sedately up the stairway to the right, the more favored others—the holders of the dollar-and-a-half stubs—going straight ahead. Doubtless the auditorium was somewhat less magnificent than we once considered it; certainly it had tarnished sadly with the years; but the ceiling was high and elaborately encrusted (there were cupids here and there, blowing trumpets), and from the center of it dropped a massive many-bulbed chandelier which not so long before had been a many-gas-jetted one. We seem to remember a succession of curtains, but the one we remember best displayed a romantic al fresco scene, framed with advertisements. The proscenium was flanked on either side by double tiers of boxes, and it was always a matter of polite curiosity to note who occupied them.

(Is this the place to mention, in parentheses, Sullivan's Saloon which abutted Chatterton's on the south? Some of us, between the acts and emboldened by the dazzle of it all, had our first drinks there, and put our foot on our first bar-rail; and our reflections in the speckled mirror gazed back, rather too approvingly, I have no doubt, on our first fine efforts to be men of the world. But let us leave Sullivan's quickly; we should never have gone there in the first place.)

The orchestra is coming out of the subterranean pits beneath the stage. Possibly there was an orchestra leader at Chatterton's before Professor Louis Lehman, but only a nonagenarian could recall him, and we are done with ancient history now. There is no more provocative sound in the world than an orchestra tuning up: the piano giving the pitch, the fiddlers tightening their strings, the clarinettist taking a few preliminary trills, the trombonist blowing the kinks out of his horn. The lights have not yet been dimmed and we can see them, there in the pit at the old Chatterton, as plain as may be—Henry Leeder with his big bass viol, Alex McCosker with his clarinet, John Bush with his trumpet, Bert Sutton with his drums. The others are all somewhat blurred and anonymous, except John Taylor who, with his fiddle, was to take over in 1914 at Professor Lehman's death.

The overture comes to an end. The lights suddenly go down, a man in shirt-sleeves and a black derby hat peers round the edge of the curtain, the footlights go up, the audience shifts and wiggles in excitement.

And the curtain rises on Wilton Lackaye in "The Pit," Rose Stahl in "The Chorus Lady," Kyrle Bellew in "Raffles," Eva Tanguay in "The Chaperones," Raymond Hitchcock in "The Yankee Consul," Mabel Taliaferro in "Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch," Robert Edeson in "Strongheart," Williams and Walker in "In Dahomey," William Hodge in "The Man From Home." In 1912 a New York theatrical producer, upon learning that his companion was from Springfield, said, "Ah, the old Chatterton! Those horrible dressing-rooms! But Springfield is the finest one-night stand in the country."

So that what befell Chatterton's was what befell the American stage generally, and particularly that romantic and vicissitudinous portion of it known as "the road." Railroad fares, wages of stagehands and draymen, all other costs of production, went up enormously. So did the price of theatre tickets. But there is a law of diminishing returns. And short sighted New York managers began sending out second-rate companies at top prices. And Mabel Normand was appearing over at the Bijou, and Alice Joyce at the Strand, and little Mary Pickford at the Princess. You could see Theda Bara at the Majestic for one-twentieth of what it cost to see Valeska Surratt at the Chatterton.

But for a long while yet, they came. Maude Adams in "Peter Pan," William H. Crane in "Father and the Boys," David Warfield in "The Return of Peter Grimm," Ethel Jackson and Donald Brian in "The Merry Widow," John Drew and Mary Boland in "Smith," Frances Starr in "Marie Odile," Ed Wynn in "The Perfect Fool." Until at last, on the night of May 13, 1924, Otis Skinner came in "Sancho Panza." A grander old trouper could never have been found to take the final curtain call at the old Chatterton.

The building was condemned as unsafe, the front part was partially torn down and rebuilt into shops, and the rear demolished. Where Chester Carpenter once stood taking our tickets stands a man in a none-too-white coat waiting to give us a shave. A parking-lot occupies the rear; a Chevrolet, dripping oil, covers the ground where Edwin Booth once tore a passion to tatters; on the spot where Fritzi Scheff sang "Kiss Me Again" is a last year's Ford. It is too dismal to contemplate, and our thoughts, fleeing the present, go

Adelaide Neilson
as "Imogen," 1880

Lillian Russell, 1900

Photos from the Henry B. House Collection

back . . . back to the time Lillian Russell last came to Chatterton's. The year was 1903, the play (what does it matter?) was Tweedle-de-dum or Fiddle-de-dee; and with her came Weber & Fields, Willie Collier, Louise Allen, Peter Dailey, Fay Templeton and Charlie McCracken. And toward the middle of the first act the incomparable Lillian stepped to the footlights. (Let no one say there was a fraction of an ounce too much of her—a pleasing plenitude was the fashion of that day.) Professor Lehman gave the signal, the orchestra started *lento poco rubato;* the song was "Come Down My Evening Star." The gorgeous Lillian opened her mouth to sing.

And on that note let us end.

ERRATA, ADDENDA, ET CETERA

The usual number of mistakes have been discovered, too late, of course, for correction. Christo on page 10, as every schoolboy knows, should be Cristo. Coquette on page 10 should be Mascotte. Arizona on page 13 should be Alabama. Doubt still remains as to the identity of the lady with red hair on page 15. Unquestionably there are other errors, but we are consoled by the suspicion that our readers will enjoy discovering them for themselves.

More distressing are mistakes of omission. How came we to forget Professor Flint, the hypnotist, with his waving black side whiskers and mesmeric eye? How did we overlook the prize fights Johnny Connors put on, particularly the Battle Royals? And how could the

writer of these lines *ever* have forgotten the unforgettable Marguerita Sylva in the "Princess Chic"?

For the kindly pointing out of errors, as well as for information about the early days of Chatterton's, we are much indebted to the theatrically encyclopedic Henry B. House. And our thanks, also, to Paul M. Angle, for permission to peruse the files of programs in the State Historical Library.

WHERE DID THE BATTLE OF CHICAGO TAKE PLACE?

BY H. A. MUSHAM

ON Saturday, August 15, 1812, at about 10:00 A.M., a small column of soldiers, a number of civilians including women and children, and more than 500 Indians, evacuated Fort Dearborn at Chicago. The troops consisted of one company of the First United States Infantry—three officers, one surgeon's mate, and fifty-two rank and file—and twelve militiamen from the settlement of Chicago. Among the Indians were thirty Miami, recently arrived from Fort Wayne; the remainder were Potawatomi of doubtful loyalty. Under orders from Brigadier General William Hull, commanding the Northwestern Army of the United States, the garrison was abandoning Fort Dearborn and beginning its march to Fort Wayne.

Before the column had proceeded more than a mile and a half, it became engaged in a spirited action with the Potawatomi escort. The troops were at first victorious, but Captain Nathan Heald, the commanding officer, having had about thirty-six of his men killed, and believing that further resistance would lead to the annihilation of the remainder and the civilians, surrendered on being promised by the Indians that the lives of the survivors would be spared. The Indians promptly violated this promise by killing the wounded who were unable to walk and torturing to death five

soldiers during the following night. The next day they set fire to the fort and left for their villages with their captives and loot. Of the total number of Americans who left the fort on that fateful day—ninety-nine men, women, and children—only twenty-seven survived the battle and the hardships of their captivity to return to civilization.

This action is sometimes referred to as the Chicago Massacre but is more commonly known as the Fort Dearborn Massacre. Neither of these designations is correct. It was not a massacre as it was not an indiscriminate killing. Those who perished were killed in the fighting or soon afterwards in accordance with Indian customs, or died because of the privations of their captivity. It was in fact a minor engagement, a physical struggle between two opposing forces, American and Indian. While it did take place at Chicago it did not occur at Fort Dearborn. It is therefore correct to call it the Battle of Chicago.

There has always been argument as to where this action took place. All authorities agree in one particular, that it happened on the lake shore, but as to the exact spot there is no general agreement. The purpose of this study is to determine definitely just where it did happen. There are numerous accounts of it but only seventeen can be considered worthy of consideration. These include primary accounts by participants, other accounts quoting participants but passed on by intermediaries, hearsay narratives taken from newspapers, and stories which are generally considered as traditional.

The primary accounts are the official report of Cap-

tain Nathan Heald,[1] the entry in his journal,[2] that by Lieutenant Linai T. Helm,[3] that by Sergeant W. K. Jordan of Captain Rhea's company at Fort Wayne.[4]

The secondary accounts reveal details as told by John Kinzie,[5] Sergeant William Griffith of Captain Heald's Company,[6] Lieutenant Daniel Curtis of Fort Wayne,[7] N. Simmons,[8] and that by a wounded soldier living on the North Branch in 1816.[9]

The hearsay stories are those reported in *The Missouri Gazette*,[10] *The War*,[11] and *Niles' Weekly Register*.[12]

The traditional stories are those which are reported by Mrs. Juliette Augusta Kinzie in her pamphlet, *Narrative of the Massacre at Chicago* and her book, *Waubun;*[13] the letters and narratives edited by Nelly Kinzie Gordon;[14] a lecture by John Wentworth;[15] and another by Joseph N. Balestier.[16]

[1] John Brannan, ed., *Official Letters of the Military and Naval Officers of the United States, During the War with Great Britain in the Years 1812, 13, 14, & 15* (Washington, 1823), 84-85; Milo Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest* (Chicago, 1913), 406-408.

[2] MS among the Heald Papers in Draper Collection (Wis. State Hist. Soc., Madison). Printed in Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, 402-405.

[3] Nelly Kinzie Gordon, ed., *The Fort Dearborn Massacre by Lieutenant Linai T. Helm* (Chicago, 1912), 15-26.

[4] Logan Esarey, ed., *Messages and Letters of William Henry Harrison* (*Ind. Hist. Col.*, IX, Indianapolis, 1922), II: 165-67; Henry H. Hurlbut, *Chicago Antiquities* (Chicago, 1881), 178-79.

[5] Hurlbut, *Chicago Antiquities*, 189-91, quoting Henry R. Schoolcraft who obtained his information from John Kinzie.

[6] Robert B. McAfee, *History of the Late War in the Western Country* (Lexington, Ky., 1816), 98-101.

[7] Charles E. Slocum, *History of the Maumee River Basin* (Indianapolis, 1905), 276.

[8] N. Simmons, *Heroes and Heroines of the Fort Dearborn Massacre* (Lawrence, Kan., 1896), 39.

[9] William R. Head MSS (Chicago Hist. Soc.). See Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, 260-61, 400-401.

[10] *Missouri Gazette*, Sept. 19, 1812. See Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, 393-94.

[11] *The War*, Oct. 10, 1812.

[12] *Niles' Weekly Register*, June 4, 1814.

[13] Published in Chicago, 1844, and New York, 1856, respectively.

[14] Gordon, *Fort Dearborn Massacre*.

[15] John Wentworth, *Early Chicago: A Lecture* (*Fergus Hist. Ser.*, No. 8, Chicago, 1876), 19-21.

[16] Joseph N. Balestier, *The Annals of Chicago* (*Fergus Hist. Ser.*, No. 1, Chicago, 1876), 19-21.

Captain Heald's official report places the action at a distance of about one and a half miles from the fort, as does Lieutenant Helm, while Sergeant Jordan locates it at about one mile. In his journal the Captain notes the distance as two miles. He wrote his report on October 23, 1812. He therefore had plenty of time to reflect on the battle. As he was familiar with the terrain it is not likely that he made a mistake of a half-mile in its location. The journal reads as if the entry for August 15, 1812, was made some time afterwards, probably when he and Mrs. Heald had reached her family home in Louisville in November of that year. Credence is therefore given to the official distance of one and a half miles. When Jordan's estimate of one mile is considered, it is not likely that the distance exceeded one and a half miles.

Regarding the other accounts, Sergeant Griffith and Lieutenant Curtis place the battlefield one mile from the fort, but according to Simmons it was one and a half miles from the fort, and the wounded soldier reports it as being one-half mile from the fort.

The hearsay accounts place the battlefield at a distance of one mile, according to the accounts of the *Missouri Gazette* and *The War*, while that of *Niles' Weekly Register* gives it as one and a half miles.

Of the traditional accounts, those of Juliette Kinzie, Wentworth, and Balestier place the battlefield at about one and a half miles from the fort, while that of Nelly Kinzie Gordon places it at about 21st Street and Indiana Avenue, or approximately two and a quarter miles from the fort. This last estimate is based upon the most traditional of these accounts and therefore is the least reliable of all.

What did these people mean when they said that the battle took place at about such a distance? People are notoriously careless in the use of the word "about." A mile may mean something less than a mile or something more. It is not likely, however, that these people, especially those who took part in the battle, would in reporting such a minor engagement as it was, make an error large enough to place it at a half-mile or more from its actual place of occurrence. Seventeen accounts have been reported on the location of this battle, and fifteen of them place its location at a point one and a half miles from the fort or within that distance, while of the two remaining, one puts it at two miles and the other at two and three-eighths.

Of the two mile estimates, that by Captain Heald is contradicted by him in his official report, in which he places it at a mile and a half, while the Gordon account, the most traditional of all the accounts, and therefore the least reliable, puts it beyond two miles.

Why was the battle placed at East 18th Street and the lake shore? The answer is because some old settler pointed out a grove of trees as the battle site. Another even went further and pointed out the exact tree under which it took place.[17] This battlefield was never surveyed as such or marked in the early days, and settlers who succeeded those who lived here at the time or immediately after the War of 1812, and in the years preceding the quieting of the Indian title in 1833, had passed away. Those who took their places located the battlefield by what they heard or what somebody had told them, and accepting the location of the battle at one and a half miles from the fort at the start of the

[17] A. T. Andreas, *History of Chicago* (Chicago, 1884), I: 31.

march, they took that distance as starting from the mouth of the river, which at the time was at Madison Street. A mile and a half from the mouth of the river would put the battlefield at East 18th Street and the lake, and a tree was picked out to mark the site.

Now East 18th Street is more than one and a half miles south of the fort. It is two miles from that point and therefore beyond the estimates made by the participants. East 12th Street or Roosevelt Road is one and a half miles from the site of Fort Dearborn. The location of the battlefield at East 18th Street and the lake is evidently based only on tradition, and that built up by settlers who came to Chicago after 1833.

In creating the misconception, the Kinzie tradition played a large part. The Kinzies were the only family of later days having a direct connection with the day of the battle in Chicago. John Kinzie was the only member of the family who took part in the battle, and he played, according to the accounts, a rather futile part in it as a spectator. There was no one in Chicago after 1833 to correct the Kinzie account of the battle and the location as he established it—put into writing by Mrs. John H. Kinzie in the pamphlet, *The Massacre at Chicago*, published in 1844, and in *Waubun*, issued in 1856. The Kinzie tradition was accepted and became embedded in the lore of early Chicago, though critical examination proves it to be shot through with errors, many of them palpably absurd.

It will be further argued in favor of the East 18th Street location that those who perished in the battle were buried close to where they fell by Captain Hezekiah Bradley, who rebuilt the fort in 1816. The evidence in support of this consists of the statement of Fernando

Jones, who came to Chicago in 1835, and who stated that the burial place was quite distinct at the time and that he believed its location was near where East 17th Street crossed South Prairie Avenue. He further stated that his information came from some who were children at the time of the battle and from others who had been told of it by their parents. He also mentioned that in 1836 he and three white and two half-breed boys opened a mound which was said to be the grave of a vedette, who was supposed to have been in advance of the retreating column. They found therein a skeleton, pieces of woolen cloth, leather, brass military buttons, and buckles and a brass plate with U.S. on it. They were convinced that this mound was the vedette's grave.[18]

No account of the battle mentions a scout so far in advance of the column. If these remains were those of a soldier of Captain Heald's company, then he must have been fleeing from the Indians. This may have been the case, but it is more likely that it was the body of one of those soldiers who came to Chicago in 1832 at the time of the Black Hawk War and who brought cholera with them. On landing, some made off into the prairie to escape that plague, and this soldier may have died of it and was buried where he fell.

The consensus of opinion is that the remains of those who perished in the battle were collected and buried in the Fort Dearborn Cemetery, which was on the river bank between East Lake and East Randolph streets. This information is not certain. William H. Keating, mineralogist and geologist with Stephen H. Long's expedition, stated that no one in Chicago in 1823 could point out to his party where the bones had been de-

[18] Joseph Kirkland, *The Chicago Massacre of 1812* (Chicago, 1893), 121.

posited.[19] In the absence of direct proof that the dead were interred on the battlefield, we can therefore reject these statements as evidence that the battle took place at East 18th Street and the lake shore.

Considering all the factors involved, the conclusion is drawn that the battle occurred in the vicinity of South Michigan Avenue and East 12th Street and not at East 18th Street and South Indiana Avenue as the traditions of the early settlers would have it.

It will be argued in refutation of this conclusion that the large tree, "The Massacre Tree," familiar to old time Chicagoans, did stand on the battlefield and was there in 1812 at the time of the battle. This tradition is based upon the statements of Mrs. John H. Kinzie, A. J. Galloway, Isaac N. Arnold, Mrs. Mary Clark Williams,[20] and Robert G. Clarke.[21]

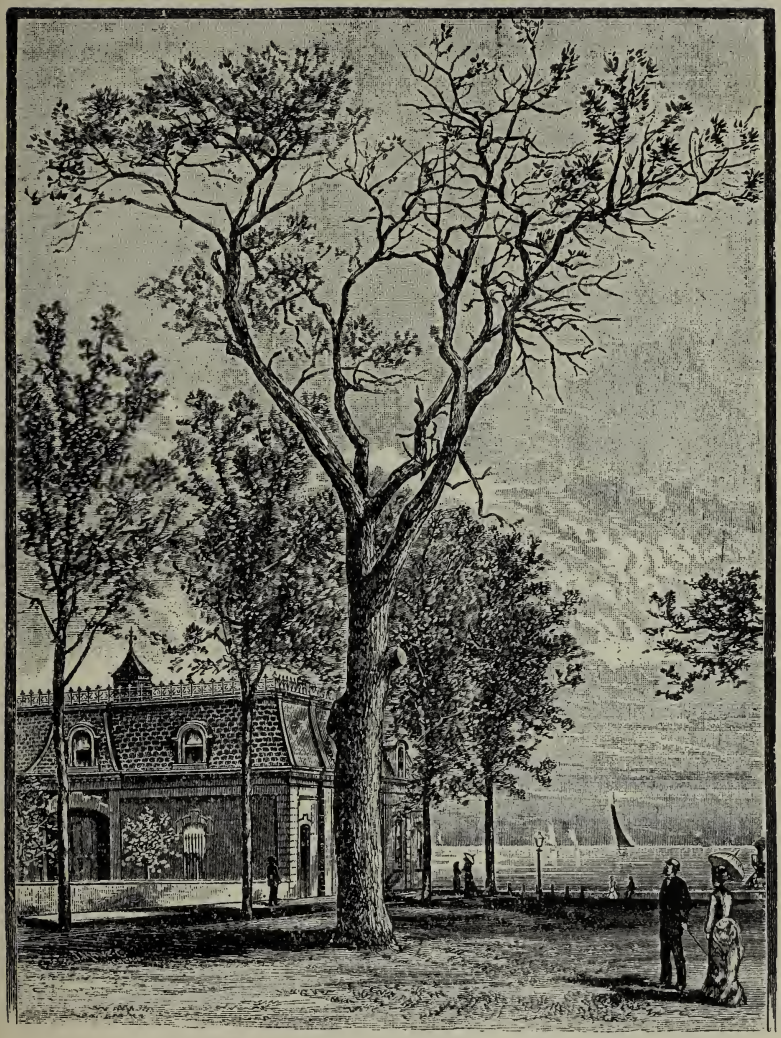
This tree, weakened in time by the storms of the lake and prairies, was blown down in the great storm of May 16, 1894. A portion of the trunk about twenty-seven inches in diameter was preserved, and today it is in the museum of the Chicago Historical Society. From the cut here shown, it can be estimated that this tree had a maximum diameter, a few feet above the ground, of about thirty-six inches.

The authenticity of this tree as a marker for the battlefield rests upon five statements, all of which were told to the narrators by others. They cannot be regarded as firsthand evidence in any sense. They all agree that a cottonwood tree marked the battlefield but are not certain as to which tree it was nor about its location or

[19] William H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River* (London, 1825), I:161.

[20] Andreas, *History of Chicago*, I:31.

[21] Kirkland, *Chicago Massacre*, 209-10.



From Andreas, History of Chicago

THE "MASSACRE TREE."

Formerly stood on 18th Street near Illinois Central Railroad.

its age. As to its age, Mrs. Kinzie stated that it and its fellows were saplings at the time of the battle. A. J. Galloway stated that in 1858 "the tree was in apparent good condition, though showing all the marks of advanced age." He contradicted Mrs. Kinzie by stating, "I have no doubt but its sapling life long antedated the time of the massacre of the Fort Dearborn garrison." Assuming ten years as the age of a sapling, this tree was ninety-two years old in 1894, and according to Galloway it must have been much older—probably well into the hundreds. Mrs. Mary Clark Williams said that "nearly fifty years ago she played under the old cottonwood, and that it was then a large and thrifty tree."

The United States Forest Service, in its pamphlet on cottonwood, describes eastern cottonwood, the species to which this tree undoubtedly belonged, as follows:

> [They reach] heights of 75 to 85 feet and diameters of from 2 to 3 feet. These dimensions are not unusual in mature trees. The growth is rapid in early life, and under favorable conditions annual increases of 5 feet in height and one inch in diameter are common. The rate of growth falls off rapidly after 30 to 40 years, and a tree seldom lives over 80 years.[22]

The Illinois State Division of Forestry reports:

> The soil condition also has a good deal to do with the rate of growth, and a sandy soil presents an average condition. The life of a cottonwood only in rare cases exceeds fifty years, and the general average is usually about thirty to thirty-five years.

The Division further states that trees about three feet in diameter would be approximately forty to fifty years old.[23]

The State of Indiana Department of Conservation

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[22] H. S. Betts, U.S. Dep't. of Agr., Forest Service, *Cottonwoods* (Rev. ed., Washington, D.C., 1938).

[23] Letter of A. J. Tomasek, Ill. State Division of Forestry, to author, Jan. 9, 1939.

gives the following figures for the age of the cottonwood:

> On dry soil it is very short lived. A tree three feet in diameter on the shore of Lake Michigan would probably not live to be over 65 or 70 years old. Trees near Gary, now standing, are probably 100 to 125 years old.[24]

The Michigan Department of Conservation states that a cottonwood tree three feet in diameter might be anywhere from fifty to eighty years of age.[25]

According to these authorities, the Massacre Tree, which had a diameter of about three feet in 1894, could only have been forty to eighty years of age. This tree grew on the sand hills along the shore of Lake Michigan and therefore was rooted in the sand found under a foot or so of top soil, which was not the best anchorage for the roots.

In this position it was further subjected to the full force of the northwest gales from the lake and the northwest and southwest winds from the prairies, which only a stout, well-rooted tree could successfully resist for so long a period of time as the life of this one is supposed to have covered.

The age of the tree can of course be determined from a cross-section of the portion of the trunk now in the Historical Society; however, from its diameter it is not likely that this tree had anywhere near the age of eighty-two years which was required for it to have been a seedling in 1812, or the greater age it would have needed to have been a sapling or a full-grown tree as has been stated. If this tree could have been proved to be of one

[24] Letter of E. P. Wilson, Ind. State Dep't. of Conservation, to author, Jan. 17, 1939.

[25] Letter of G. S. McIntire, Mich. State Dep't. of Conservation, to author, Jan. 19, 1939.

of these ages, then it is not likely that it could have been on the battlefield, because the site was graded when this neighborhood was subdivided some time before the Massacre Tree was singled out by Mrs. Kinzie. The ridge where the Indians were in position was removed, and probably no cottonwood tree which may have been on it was singled out as the Massacre Tree and transplanted to the spot on which it stood, the north curb at the foot of East 18th Street down to 1894.

Furthermore, the location of the Indian position on the ridge, as given by Captain Heald, locates it close to South Prairie Avenue, whereas the actual tree was only about 130 feet from the Illinois Central right of way. If this tree was standing in 1812, then it must have started its life on the beach between the lake and the ridge, in which position it would have led a precarious life because of the heavy storms on the lake. This is just where it was not located, according to the accounts of the battle, which took place on a sand ridge, bank, or hill.[26]

The presence of bullet holes in the trunk and of bullets embedded in its surface are often cited as proof of its authenticity. The bullet holes are assumed to have been made by bullets fired from the guns of both Indians and soldiers during the action, and the bullets in the surface are supposed to have come from the same guns. One persistent youngster is reported to have extracted half a cigar box full from the tree.

There were a number of trees on the ridge. The probabilities are against any particular one receiving so many bullets in so short an action as this battle was.

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[26] Heald's report in Brannan, ed., *Official Letters*, 84-85; Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, 406-407.

If such was the case then this particular tree must have been singled out as a target, which certainly was not the case; otherwise the firing must have been unusually heavy. This was not so, as Captain Heald stated that he fired one volley, about fifty shots, and then charged, after which the fighting became general.

Further, the fighting on the ridge lasted but ten or fifteen minutes. The chance of a half-box full of bullets finding their mark in a single tree under such conditions would be slight. These bullets were fired into the tree when a sapling in 1812, and yet they were found on the surface or close to it in the last half of the last century, along with well-defined holes leading into it when its trunk had increased to about thirty inches in diameter and it was ready to die.

If these bullets were fired in 1812, then they would have been covered over by the tree itself in the course of its reputed long life. Scars would have remained to show where they entered the trunk. It is well known that a young growing tree cures such wounds by growing tissue around and over them.[27] The bullets on the surface evidently were fired at a much later date. It is apparent that such bullets as were taken from the tree or still remain in it could not have been fired on August 15, 1812.

How, then, did this tree receive so many bullets? The answer is plain. In the earlier days and up to recent years practically all the men and boys of our cities hunted, and when they reached the country or were returning home they frequently took pot shots at trees and other landmarks. This was a noted tree; therefore

[27] Letter of I. T. Haig, U.S. Dep't. of Agr., Forest Service, to author, Feb. 17, 1941.

it became a special target for all the amateur shots passing it.

From all these arguments the conclusion becomes inevitable that the tree known as "The Massacre Tree" could not have been standing on the battlefield at the time of the Battle of Chicago on August 15, 1812.

THE EXTENT OF THE BATTLEFIELD

A battlefield is not a point but an extent of terrain. Battles, when carefully studied, usually can be broken down into two or more phases or situations which occur over that area. A study of the Battle of Chicago shows that it had four main situations. These are presented here in the form of sketches showing the situations at 9:30, 10:00, 10:15 and 11:30 A.M.

Captain Heald, in his official report, placed the Indians in position on a sand bank about 100 yards from the troops.[28] As the troops were close to the water's edge where the water of the lake kept the sand of the beach damp and hard, and as the shore line at the date of the battle at East 12th Street was located at about where the original right of way of the Illinois Central Railroad was, the position of the sand bank and of the Indians was located approximately at the site of the east curb line of South Michigan Avenue.

Captain Heald further stated that after breaking through the Indian position he occupied a small knoll out of the range of the Indians' guns. The effective range of the muskets of the period was about 100 yards, but bullets from them did damage up to 200 yards. This would place the knoll somewhere near East 12th Street and South State Street. The surrender took place half-

[28] Brannan, ed., *Official Letters*, 84; Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, 406.

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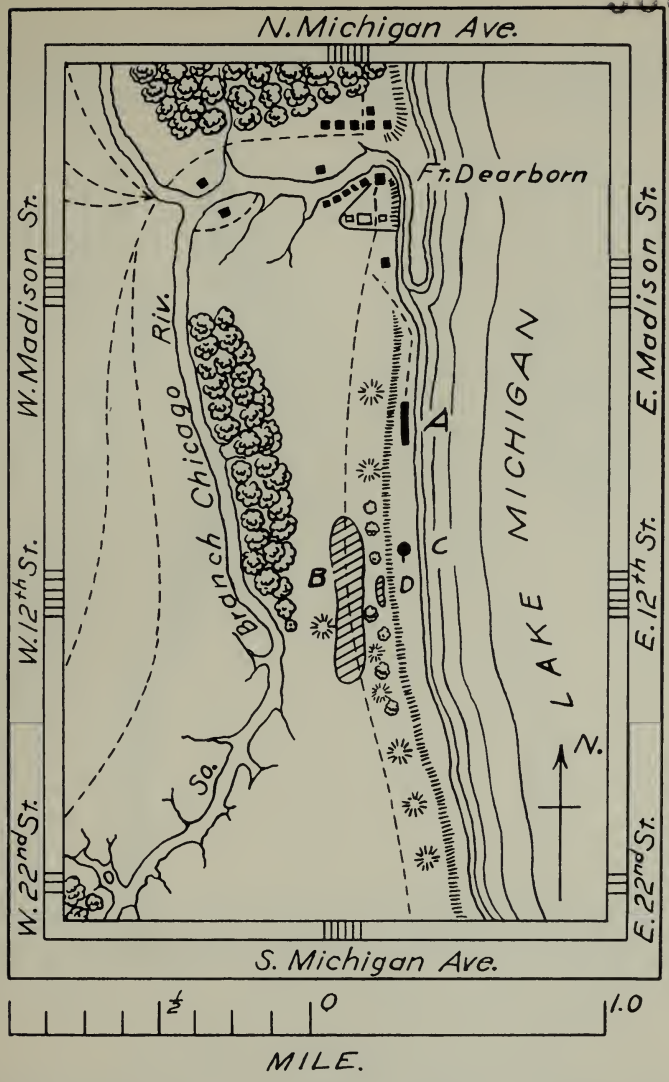
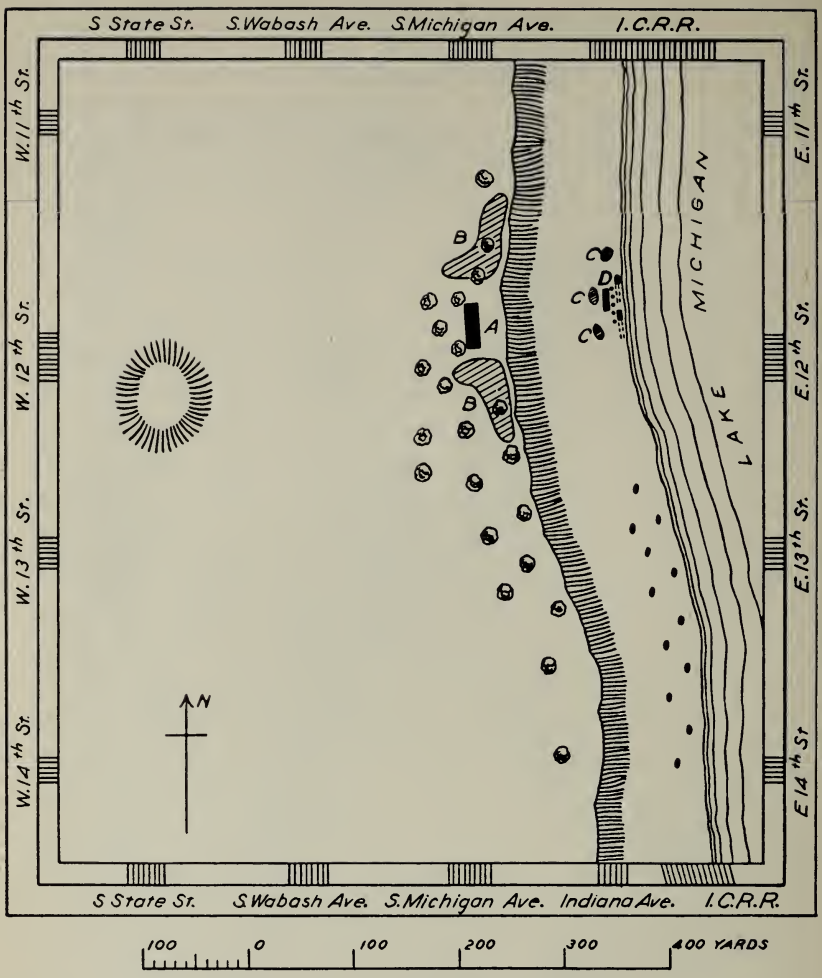


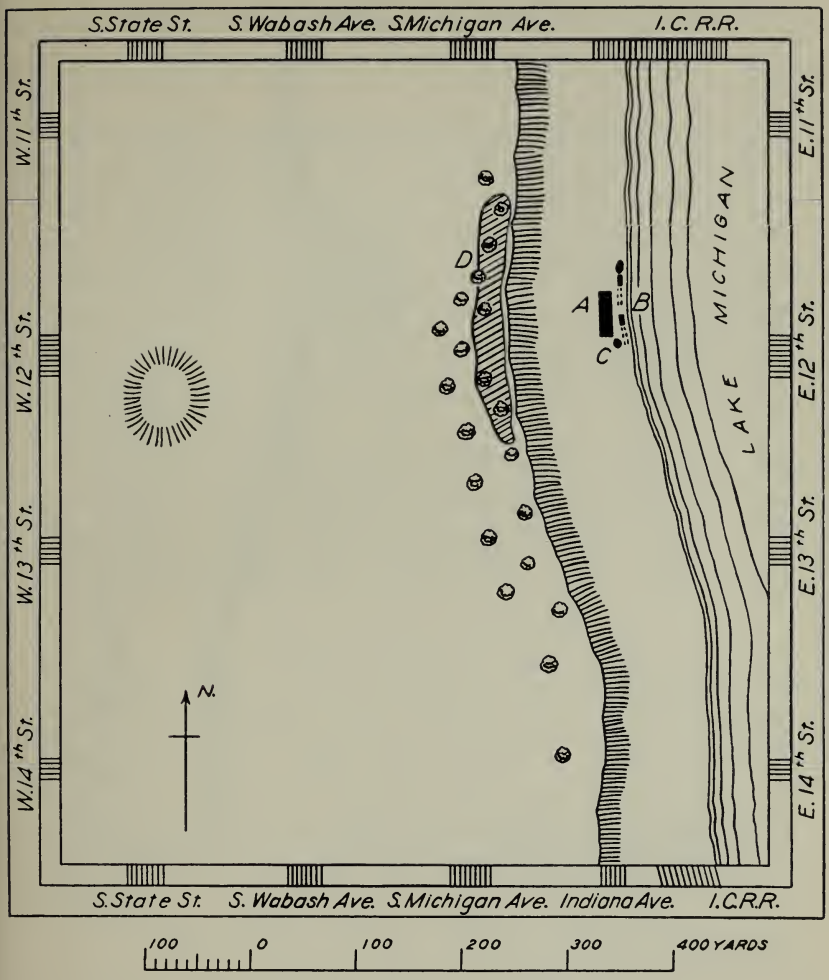
Situation at About 9:30 A.M.

Capt. Heald's column (A) was marching south along the beach. The main body of the Indians (B) was straggling south across the prairie separated from the column by the sand hills. Neither could see the other. Wells (C) riding ahead was fired on by some Indians (D) on the sand ridge. Wells galloped back to Capt. Heald and reported the Indians in position to attack him.



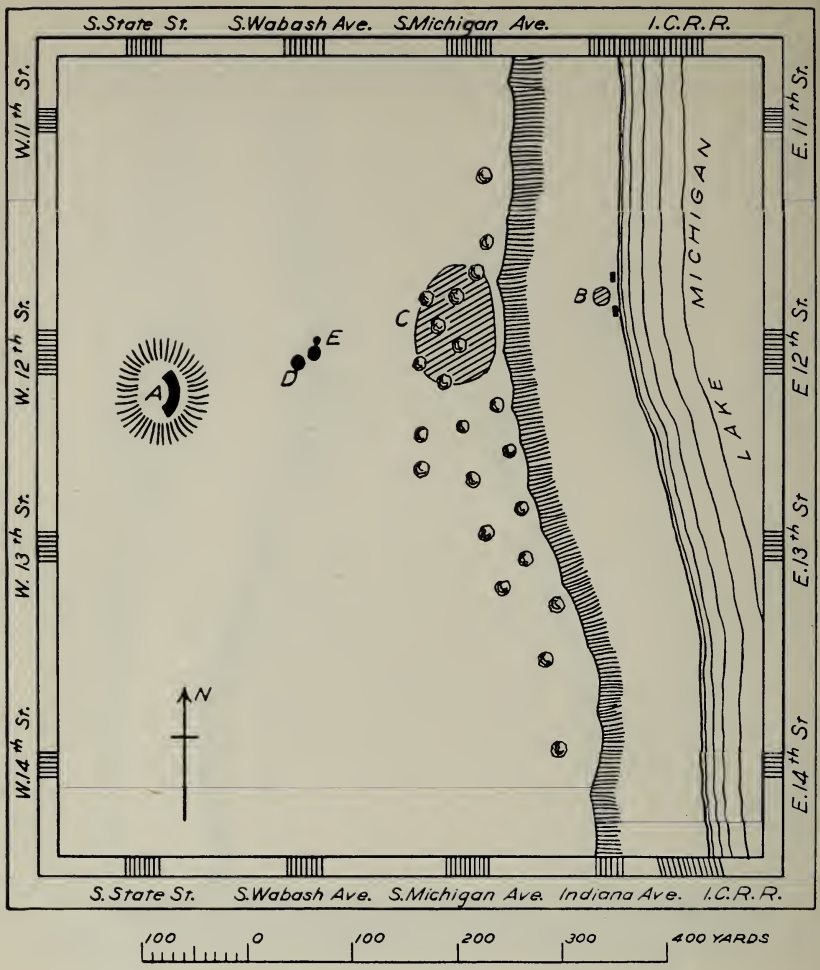
SITUATION AT ABOUT 10:00 A.M.

Capt. Heald, without making any further reconnaissance, marched the column to point on the beach opposite the Indians on the sand ridge. He formed his company in line (A) and detailed Ensign Ronan and the detachment of Chicago militia as guard for the wagons (B) and the women and children (C). The Indians (D) had by this time crowded on the ridge.



SITUATION AT ABOUT 10:15 A.M.

Capt. Heald marched his company (A) up the sand ridge, bayonets fixed, fired one round, charged the Indians and broke through them. They (B) gave way to the flanks and the melee became general. Other parties of Indians (C) made for the wagons (D) and killed all the guard except Serg. Thomas Burns who was severely wounded.



SITUATION AT ABOUT 10:30 A.M.

Capt. Heald, observing the disaster at the wagons, cut his way through the Indians with the survivors to a low knoll on the prairie (A). The Indians (B) at the wagons took the women and children captive. Those on the ridge (C) gathered in council and motioned the troops for a parley. Capt. Heald (D), having lost about 36 men and desirous of saving the remainder, met the Indian Blackbird (E) with interpreter Leclerc. Blackbird asked him to surrender and promised to spare the survivors. Capt. Heald accepted the terms and the troops laid down their arms.

way between the Indians' position and this knoll, or about the intersection of South Wabash and East 12th Street.

Allowing a margin of distance for the word "about," the area covered by the battlefield would be that bounded by East 10th Street on the north, South State Street on the west, East 14th Street on the south, and the center of the Illinois Central Railroad on the east. The place where the actual fighting took place was on about the east curb line or sidewalk of the present South Michigan Avenue, somewhere between East 10th and East 14th streets.

The route taken by the column after leaving Fort Dearborn in general follows the west sidewalk of South Michigan Avenue to East Madison Street and from there on the east sidewalk to approximately East 12th Street.

THE BATTLE MONUMENT

As the city grew the people of Chicago accepted the story of the Massacre Tree, which stood until the great storm of May 16, 1894, blew down its decayed trunk. Before this happened, George M. Pullman, whose residence stood close by, took steps to preserve the identity of its site in a manner which he thought would be permanent.

Through his generosity an elaborate bronze statuary group, on a stone pedestal with bronze plaques on its sides telling the story of the battle, was erected 100 feet west of the tree. This was unveiled on June 19, 1893, with appropriate ceremonies and presented to the Chicago Historical Society. Time took its toll of this monument. The gases of the locomotives of the Illinois Central Railroad corroded it in spots, and vandals re-

moved some of its bronze plates.

In 1932 the bronze group was removed to the museum of the Chicago Historical Society where it now is. The stone base was moved in 1941 to a site in Grant Park where it serves as the base for a statue.

It is well that this disposition of the monument has been made, as the statuary group did not commemorate the battle as much as it did the adventures of Mrs. Helm, the wife of Lieutenant Helm; and as the foregoing pages show, it did not stand on the battlefield.

The battlefield should be marked with an appropriate marker. Nothing could be more effective in this respect than a simple stone marker with recessed bronze tablets, identifying the place, telling the story of the battle, and giving the names of all the participants and the fates that befell them. A flag pole with an ornamental base should be placed in front of it. The best location would be at the intersection of East 12th Street and South Michigan Avenue, where the battle actually took place. In this way neither it nor those who took part in it, and what they did here, will be forgotten. Establishing this memorial is the least that we can do for them.

WILLIAM HENRY BISSELL

Eleventh Governor of Illinois

BY WILLIAM U. HALBERT

WILLIAM Henry Bissell, first Republican Governor of Illinois, was born in Hartwick, Otsego County, New York, on April 25, 1811. After attending the public schools there he entered the Philadelphia Medical College, from which he was graduated in 1835. For a short time he practiced medicine in Southport, Chemung County, in his native state of New York, and then moved to Painted Post, Steuben County, where he remained until he removed to Monroe County, Illinois, in 1837.

In Illinois, Bissell combined the practice of medicine with school teaching for the first few years of his residence. Then, having become well and favorably known, he turned to politics. In 1840 he was elected to the House of Representatives of the Illinois General Assembly. At the same time he was studying law. In 1841 he was graduated from the Law Department of Transylvania University at Lexington, Kentucky, and was admitted to the Illinois bar. During the same year he formed a partnership with James Shields. Although the firm had its office in Belleville, the partners practiced in Randolph and Monroe counties as well as in St. Clair. In 1844, Bissell was elected state's attorney of St. Clair County.

As soon as the Mexican War broke out, Bissell volunteered. He was elected captain of a company raised in Belleville. Shortly afterward, at Alton, where the Illinois volunteers were concentrated, he was elected colonel of the Second Regiment, Illinois Volunteer Infantry. Many officers and men in his command were from Belleville and its vicinity. Among them were Captain Julius Raith, Lieutenants Nathaniel Niles, Adolphus Engelmann, and William H. Snyder, and Privates James L. Roman, Joseph Penn, James L. Garretson, Daniel Boone, Alexander Glenn, David William Halbert, Calvin McKenzie, Robert C. Miller, William Murray, David W. Teters, and Alfred Woods. These are some of the men whom Bissell had in mind when he wrote to his friend Gustave Koerner on February 24, 1847, from the battlefield of Buena Vista near Saltillo, Mexico:

> My own brave regiment has won for itself eternal honor, and since it did more fighting than any other regiment, has suffered most severely—about sixty-five killed, eighty wounded, nine or ten missing. Engelmann acted most gallantly upon the field and was severely, but not dangerously, wounded in the shoulder. He is doing well and has every attention and is in good spirits. Our whole loss in killed, wounded and missing will probably be four or five hundred.

Colonel Bissell also gave full credit to his men when he spoke at the grand homecoming reception which was given to them at Belleville on August 5, 1847. On that occasion he spoke as follows:

> They [the officers and men of the Second Illinois] were chiefly the well-taught youths of our farming communities and our quiet moral country towns. The moral sentiments they had imbibed at home and the high sense of personal honor and personal respect they had learned to cherish, they carried with them, and these were a panoply and shield against temptation. Honor, all honor to

you, ye mothers! and you, ye fathers, for so forming the characters of your sons as to enable them by force of that character alone to draw down honors upon their State.

Bissell's sensitiveness upon the subject of the honor of his men led him to the verge of a duel during his subsequent service in Congress. After engaging in a heated exchange of words with Jefferson Davis on the floor of the House respecting the relative courage of Northern and Southern soldiers in the Mexican War, he received a challenge from Davis. He accepted, and for weapons named Army muskets loaded with buckshot at thirty paces. Davis's friends objected, and the duel never occurred. Said the *Washington Union*, February 28, 1850: "The matter was most honorably adjusted to the gratification and entire satisfaction of their mutual friends." Thus Colonel Bissell, as well as his friend of later days, Abraham Lincoln, had his troubles with the code duello.

The *Belleville Advocate* of August 12, 1847, stated that Colonel William H. Bissell had resumed the practice of law in Belleville. Later, announcement was made that he would practice in Monroe and Washington counties as well as in St. Clair. But politics was soon to lure him from the law. On April 27, 1848, he announced that he was a candidate for the national House of Representatives. He was elected, and re-elected in 1850 and 1852.

The *Belleville Advocate*, Belleville's pioneer newspaper, reported Bissell's activities in Congress in considerable detail. In its issue of August 16, 1849, it stated that he had returned to Belleville from Washington, bringing with him the sword that the State of South Carolina had presented to General James Shields in recognition of Shields's gallant Mexican War service.

The *Advocate* congratulated Bissell upon the notable reputation which he had made for himself during his first term in Congress. It praised him for supporting the Homestead Act which the House passed on June 2, 1852 (only to have it defeated in the Senate), and for attempting to obtain appropriations for the improvement of the Illinois River. It noted his appointment, in December, 1852, as chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs, and in the following year, his committee's report increasing the pay of all officers and enlisted men.

Because of ill health, Bissell remained in Washington from the expiration of his third term until the summer of 1855, when he returned to Belleville. The next year he was nominated by the newly formed Republican Party as its candidate for Governor. (A Democrat, he had left his party on the slavery issue.) With the entire state ticket, he was elected by a majority of 5,000 votes. Because of the partial paralysis of his legs, his inauguration took place in the Governor's Mansion instead of the State House.

In spite of his physical disability, Governor Bissell was an impressive figure. Charles P. Johnson, of St. Louis, who was his intimate friend for many years, thus described him in an address before the Illinois State Historical Society in 1904:

> In person Governor Bissell was of the soldier's standard height. In form, finely proportioned, he bore himself with becoming dignity but without the least semblance of vanity or ostentation. His countenance was frank, open and prepossessing. A finely shaped head, in harmony with his body, was crowned with dark brown hair lining a high and broad forehead. His features were prominent, with a large Roman nose, a square but not protruberant chin; a mouth indicating firmness, with full lips and closely trimmed mustache; small tufts of hair grew just in front of his ears. Eyebrows almost straight, shaded his eyes; these were dark gray and

very bright. The muscles of his face were remarkably flexible and expressive. His manners were exceedingly courteous and impressive, and his conversation animated and interesting. . . . A clear and well modulated voice with gestures graceful and appropriate and the fire and fervor of conviction embellished his every effort, and, on occasions, when deeply moved and an inspiration seized him, he rose to the highest flights of eloquence. In daily life his course was in keeping with the noble impulses that marked his public career. He was a kind and affectionate husband and father; a just and upright citizen; a staunch friend and a devoted believer in the faith of immortality, and, lastly, he was a type of the founders of the Republic.

The years of Bissell's administration were trying ones. The slavery issue dwarfed all others, and took on particular importance in Illinois, which attracted the attention of the entire nation because of the Lincoln-Douglas debates. Internally, however, the state prospered under the Republican administration. Unfortunately, Bissell was denied the privilege of finishing his term. In 1860 his chronic illness became much worse, and brought death on the fifteenth day of March, 1860.

The circuit court of St. Clair County was in session when news of Governor Bissell's death reached Belleville. Court was immediately adjourned, and a memorial meeting announced for the afternoon. The *Belleville Advocate* for March 23, 1860, thus reported the proceedings:

DEATH OF HON. W. H. BISSELL

It having been announced to the Circuit Court now in session that a telegraphic dispatch had just been received announcing the death of Gov. Bissell; on motion of Gov. French, the Court adjourned until tomorrow morning, whereupon a meeting was called to meet at 9 o'clock P.M. The time having arrived (on motion of Gov. Koerner), Col. James Mitchell was called to preside over the meeting; H. H. Horner was elected Secretary. On motion of Jehu Baker, Esq., a committee, consisting of Gov. Koerner, W. S. Thomas, John Scheel, Judge Underwood, N. Niles, Esq., and

Samuel Stookey, was appointed to report resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting in regard to the death of Gov. Bissell. The committee having retired, Gov. Reynolds entertained the meeting in recounting the many military and civil qualities of the deceased. The Committee on Resolutions having returned, Gov. Koerner presented the following resolutions:

RESOLVED: that we have received the news of the death of Gov. William H. Bissell with the most profound regret and that we desire on this mournful occasion to express our respect and admiration for the exalted character of the deceased.

That, as a citizen, a statesman and a soldier, he was one of the brightest ornaments of the State and Nation, who, if health and life had been spared him, would have been worthy of the highest stations in the gift of the people, and would have filled every trust confided to him with honor to himself and lasting benefit to the people. That, we, citizens of St. Clair County, having long known him as one of us, and as one of a kind, generous and honorable character, and who lead the gallant men of our county to the glorious field of battle, have peculiar reasons to deplore the loss which the whole people of the state have suffered in the death of our departed friend. That we sincerely condole with the bereaved family, to whom he was the kindest husband and father, and who, during a long and painful illness, have clung to him with an affection and devotion almost unparalleled.

That the Secretary of the meeting be requested to send a copy of these resolutions to the widow and daughters of the deceased, and cause their publication in the public press.

After presenting the resolutions, Gov. Koerner gave a brief biography of the deceased, in which he ably delineated his many noble qualities.

Judge William H. Underwood, Hon. Jehu Baker, Esq., Judge Nathaniel Niles and Hon. A. W. Metcalf, Esq. paid high tributes to the deceased.

Those who took part in the meeting were all prominent citizens of the judicial circuit and were all friends and associates of the late Governor. Like him, they were men of exemplary habits and character. His death was deeply and sincerely mourned throughout the state, and particularly in Belleville and its vicinity, where he was admired and loved.

Governor Bissell was buried in the Hutchinson Cemetery in Springfield. In 1871 his body and that of his wife were re-interred in Oak Ridge Cemetery, Springfield. Over the graves the State of Illinois has erected a monument consisting of a shaft of Italian marble twenty feet high resting on a limestone base, and surmounted by an eagle with outstretched wings holding a scroll in its beak. On the east face of the shaft is this inscription: "William H. Bissell, Tenth Governor of the State of Illinois. Born April 25, 1811; died in office March 15, 1860." Below the inscription, and surrounded by a wreath of oak and laurel, are the words: "Patriot, Statesmen, Hero."

> No good is certain but the steadfast mind,
> The Undivided will to see the good:
> 'Tis that compels the elements, and wrings
> A human music from the indifferent air.
> The greatest gift the hero leaves his race,
> Is to have been a hero.

MEMORIALS

On June 26, 1909, Mrs. Rhoda Bissell Thomas, a daughter of Governor Bissell, presented a painting of her father to the St. Clair Historical Society. Judge Frank Perrin, a founder of the Society, hung the portrait in the probate courtroom, where it remained for many years. Now it hangs over the main entrance to the Belleville Public Library—a most appropriate location, since the Public Library occupies the site on which Bissell's residence formerly stood.

In 1917 the Daughters of the American Revolution placed a bronze tablet on the Belleville Central High School in honor of Governor Bissell.

BISSELL FAMILY HISTORY

A communication to the writer from Mrs. Josephine Thomas Portuondo, November 27, 1940, states that in all the records about her grandfather, William Henry Bissell, she had been unable to find the names of his parents. The Bissell family, Puritans, with names such as "Trial" and "Deliverance," had settled at Windsor, Connecticut, in pre-Revolutionary times. Later generations moved to the State of New York. It was in Otsego County, New York, that William Henry Bissell was born on April 25, 1811.

He married his first wife, Emily James, daughter of Colonel John C. James of Monroe County, Illinois, on November 14, 1840. Of this union were born two children, both daughters. Josephine Bissell remained single and Rhoda Bissell married Charles Waite Thomas, attorney at Belleville, Illinois. After the death of his first wife, Governor Bissell married Elizabeth Kane, a daughter of United States Senator Elias Kent Kane, November 26, 1851. Governor Bissell was an adherent of the Roman Catholic faith, which he accepted in 1854.

Josephine Bissell was born on December 3, 1841, and died on March 1, 1904. She held the position of assistant librarian at the Belleville Public Library and made her home with her sister.

Rhoda Bissell, younger daughter of William Henry and Emily James Bissell, was born on April 21, 1844, at Belleville, Illinois, and died on October 13, 1914, at Belleville, Illinois. She married Charles Waite Thomas on December 31, 1866, and they had three children, a daughter and two sons: Josephine, Bissell, and Charles Edward.

Josephine Thomas Portuondo, daughter of Charles Waite

and Rhoda Bissell Thomas, was born on November 23, 1867, and died on January 21, 1943. She married Dr. B. H. Portuondo of Belleville, a Knight of St. Gregory, on April 11, 1893. The doctor died on March 9, 1939. They had one son and four daughters:

Dr. Buenaventura Portuondo, St. Louis, Mo., b April 8, 1907, m Stella Curtis.

Rita, b Jan. 24, 1894. Mother Rita, O.S.U., Springfield, Ill.

Josephine, b Dec. 26, 1894, m John F. Engelke, Belleville, Ill.

Isabel, b March 26, 1903, m Dr. Walter Regnier, Springfield, Ill.

Sylvia, b Feb. 13, 1911, m R. A. McDermott, atty., St. Louis, Mo.

Bissell Thomas, son of Charles Waite and Rhoda Bissell Thomas, a lawyer in Washington, D. C., was born on September 11, 1869. His first wife was Anna McCabe, by whom he had one child, Emily, born August 31, 1897. After the death of his first wife, he married Jessie Thomas.

Charles Edward Thomas, son of Charles Waite and Rhoda Bissell Thomas, was born on April 11, 1876, and died on November 30, 1926. On January 11, 1905, he was married to Eugenie Papin of St. Louis. Their one daughter, Mary, was born on December 13, 1907.

ILLINOIS IN 1942

BY MILDRED EVERSOLE

JANUARY 1

Governor Dwight H. Green and Mrs. Green hold a reception for the people of Illinois at the Executive Mansion. Other state officials are also in the receiving line.

All sales of new cars in the United States are banned pending the establishment of a rationing system.

JANUARY 5

A severe cold wave covers the state. Chicago experiences its first sub-zero weather since last February with a temperature of five degrees below zero. At Rockford the mercury falls to fifteen below.

JANUARY 7

The cold wave, now in its fifth day, sends the mercury to the winter's lowest point—twelve below zero in Chicago, ten below in Springfield, twenty below in Rockford. In Winnetka, where a break cuts off the gas supply, the village hall is opened to people who heat their homes with gas.

Agnes Chalmers Dandy, last member of one of Chicago's prominent pioneer families, dies at the age of eighty-seven. Her father, Thomas Chalmers, started one of the city's first machine shops.

January 8
OPM Priorities Director Donald M. Nelson orders sixty per cent of all distillers' output to be reserved for industrial and war purposes.

January 9
All seeds used by farmers to produce grain, and livestock feeds used to feed stock for market or to produce milk and eggs, are exempted from the state sales tax by the State Department of Finance.

The Springfield & Southwestern Railroad is authorized by the Illinois Commerce Commission to acquire and operate a part of the line of the Chicago, Springfield and St. Louis Railroad. The line, 7.781 miles long, extends from Cox Street in Springfield to a point just south of Curran.

January 10
Edward P. Brennan, originator of the present street numbering plan in Chicago, dies. After State and Madison streets were made the base-lines in 1907, he named more than one hundred and thirty streets.

January 12
G. Cook Kimball, Chicago steel manufacturer, dies at the age of sixty-two. He was executive vice-president and director of the United States Steel Corporation of Delaware and president of the Illinois Steel Company.

January 13
Donald M. Nelson, former executive vice-president of Sears Roebuck & Company, Chicago, is named head of a new War Production Board, replacing the Supply and Allocations Board. He will direct the nation's entire war production program.

JANUARY 15
The special wartime session of the Illinois General Assembly adjourns. Since it convened on December 18, 1941, its chief enactments have been a bill expanding the state militia to 10,000 members and one appropriating $750,000 for the State Council of Defense.

JANUARY 16
The first county-wide practice blackout in Illinois is staged in Lake County. Except for four towns which are not participating, the entire area is in darkness from 7:00 to 7:30 P.M.

JANUARY 18
Dr. Charles Davison, professor emeritus of surgery at the University of Illinois College of Medicine, dies at the age of eighty-four. He had been practicing medicine in Chicago since 1884.

JANUARY 21
Governor Green signs two bills passed during the recent special session of the legislature. One appropriates $197,000 to the Department of Registration and Education for statewide surveys of the state's oil and water resources. The other sets the penalty for theft of automobile tires at one to ten years in prison.

JANUARY 22
The Illinois Supreme Court refuses to reconsider two previous decisions in which it held that cities can force utility companies to remove their equipment from the streets when their franchises expire. The decision sustains ordinances of the municipalities of Geneseo and Heyworth.

JANUARY 23

Dr. William D. Cutter, Chicago, dies at the age of sixty-three. He was secretary of the American Medical Association's council on medical education and hospitals, and had also taught in a number of medical schools.

JANUARY 26

Governor Green signs two bills passed by the legislature, one regulating the handling of germ cultures, the other setting up health defense zones. This completes the work of the special wartime session of the sixty-second General Assembly.

Francis G. Blair, state superintendent of public instruction for twenty-eight years (1906-1934), dies at his home in Springfield.

Activity in the Illinois oil fields is at the lowest stage since early in 1938, with less than three hundred operations now underway. New federal regulations are said to be responsible for the inactivity.

Dr. Casey Albert Wood, internationally known eye specialist and former professor of ophthalmology at Northwestern University and the University of Illinois, dies in La Jolla California, at the age of eighty-five. He was the author and editor of numerous works in the fields of both medicine and natural history.

JANUARY 28

E. M. Bowman, a director of the Bowman Dairy Company, Chicago, dies in Pasadena, California. He was noted for his charities and church interests as well as for his development of the dairy business.

JANUARY 29

Colonel Bion J. Arnold, eighty-one year old construction engineer and inventor, dies at his home in Chicago. He had been the chief engineer for rebuilding Chicago's traction system since 1907 and served as consulting engineer on traction matters in many other cities.

JANUARY 31

Brigadier General Lawrence V. Regan, adjutant general of Illinois in 1939-1940, dies in Chicago. He served on the Mexican border in 1913 and in the first World War, receiving three citations overseas.

Melvin Thomas, Charleston, dies from injuries suffered in an auto accident a few days ago. He was a member of the Illinois Senate from 1936 to 1940.

FEBRUARY 1

Trains of the Chicago, North Shore and Milwaukee Railroad cease operating south of Howard Street, Chicago, on the Skokie branch, and south of Linden Avenue, Wilmette, on the Shore line. Elevated lines employees, members of the Amalgamated Association of Electric Street Railway and Motor Coach Employees, refuse to operate switches that connect these lines with the elevated tracks which they use in the city.

FEBRUARY 5

The appointment of Harold J. Cruger, Elmhurst, as state superintendent of printing is announced by Governor Green. On March 1, he will succeed John J. Donoghue, resigned.

The Illinois Supreme Court grants a stay of its mandate regarding the "Geneseo case," in which it held that

Illinois cities could compel utilities to vacate their streets upon expiration of their franchises. This action was taken pending the outcome of an appeal to the United States Supreme Court.

Continuing a recent upward trend, hog prices in Chicago advance to new high levels, reaching $12.75, the highest February price in fifteen years.

February 6

Driving rain and snow storms, occurring intermittently for the last two days, swell streams and rivers and force the closing of highways in several places.

Clyde H. Tavenner, a native of Cordova, Illinois, dies in Washington, D. C. He was a member of Congress from 1913 to 1917 and later engaged in the publishing business.

February 7

The Illinois River reaches a stage of 13.4 feet at Beardstown. At LaSalle, after rising fourteen feet in twenty-four hours, the river is twenty feet above normal. The auto parking lot at Starved Rock State Park is flooded to a depth of five feet.

February 8

A Victory Book Drive in the Army's 6th Corps Area, which includes Illinois, nets thousands of books for soldiers. They will be sent to various camps.

The Illinois River at Beardstown reaches a stage of fifteen feet, six feet above normal. At Peru, the highest level in twenty-six years is recorded.

FEBRUARY 9
Illinois joins the nation in turning clocks ahead one hour to conserve power and fuel during war time.

High waters of the Illinois River at Ottawa drop a foot and a half overnight. At Beardstown the Illinois River, swollen further by eight inches of snow, exceeds the seventeen foot stage. The Sangamon River floods numerous low-lying farms, causing some families to evacuate their homes.

FEBRUARY 12
The Illinois River, rising a foot a day, passes the twenty foot mark at Beardstown. Many acres of winter wheat are under water. At Chandlerville two levees have given way and the Sangamon River has spread over hundreds of acres of farming land.

FEBRUARY 13
Announcement is made that through service on trains of the Chicago, North Shore and Milwaukee Railroad, disrupted since February 1 by a dispute between unions, will be resumed on February 18. Employees of the Chicago elevated lines will operate the trains within the city of Chicago, and North Shore trainmen will be in charge between Howard Street, the city's northern boundary, and Milwaukee, the road's terminus.

FEBRUARY 15
Dr. Hardy M. Swift, member of the legislature from 1934 to 1938, dies at the age of seventy-one. He practiced medicine in Mt. Vernon, Illinois, and had served three terms as mayor of that city.

February 16

All men in the nation between the ages of twenty and forty-five not previously enrolled register for military service. With approximately 610,000 names added today, Illinois will have a total of 1,650,000 men subject to call.

August Ziesing, railway and construction engineer and bridge designer, dies at his home in Glencoe. For many years he was president of the American Bridge Company.

February 17

Announcement is made that two Army ordnance plants will be constructed near Illiopolis at a cost of several million dollars. After completion, employment is expected to run from 6,000 to 10,000 persons.

February 18

Through passenger service to Chicago's Loop on the Chicago, North Shore and Milwaukee Railroad is resumed, after being shut off since February 1. Elections will be held soon to determine which union shall represent various groups of workers.

Troops of the Illinois Reserve Militia who have been guarding Mississippi River bridges for the last two months are being relieved at eleven points by Regular Army detachments. The Reserve Militia will continue on duty at other bridges, airports, and industrial plants of the state.

February 19

The maximum age limit for enlisting in the Illinois Reserve Militia has been raised from fifty to fifty-five, according to announcement by Adjutant General Boyle.

MARCH 1

The appointment of Wesley W. Polk, Evanston, as chief engineer in the state division of highways is announced. His predecessor, Ernst Lieberman, resigned in September, 1941.

Residents in at least seven northwestern and central western Illinois counties are jarred by earth tremors. Centering in Henry County, the quake is felt in Bureau, Knox, Stark, Rock Island, Mercer and Peoria counties, but no damages are reported.

MARCH 3

The *YMS-84*, first navy vessel built in Illinois in World War II, is launched in the Chicago River. It is a 136 foot minesweeper.

MARCH 7

Mrs. Lucy Parsons, eighty-three year old blind anarchist, dies when her home burns in Chicago. Though married to George Markstall, she went by the name of her first husband, Albert Parsons, who was hanged as a Haymarket rioter in 1887.

Charles L. Fieldstack, member of the Illinois House of Representatives for five terms (1906-1910 and 1914-1920), dies at his home in Chicago.

MARCH 8

A marine patrol of parts of the Illinois River is scheduled for the near future, according to announcement by the United States Coast Guard. Members of the Illinois Reserve Militia and state highway police have been guarding strategic areas along the river.

March 10
A United States District Court order filed at Peoria gives the United States Government authority to take possession of 19,200 acres of land in Sangamon County. The area will be used by the War Department for two huge ordnance plants.

March 11
Governor Green announces that the State Fairgrounds will be used by the United States Army Air Corps for the duration of the war.

March 13
Three trainmen are wounded by gunfire in a new outbreak of violence in connection with the strike of trainmen on the Toledo, Peoria and Western Railroad which began on December 28, 1941. Trainmen and officials have failed to agree on a new contract.

March 15
Eleven hundred civilian defense leaders of Illinois attend the nation's first statewide school of civilian wartime instruction in Springfield. Lectures and demonstrations of non-combatant work are included in the all-day meeting.

March 16
Two tornadoes rip across six Illinois counties, killing at least 23, injuring 170, and causing some $500,000 property damage. The first twister sweeps across Piatt, Champaign, and Vermilion counties. At Alvin most of the business structures are flattened. The second storm, originating in Fulton County, crosses Peoria County to Lacon in Marshall County, where 25 houses are demolished, 25 others damaged, and all power communication lines severed. Parts of Logan County are also hit.

Lawrence Howe, governor of the Chicago Stock Exchange and director of many companies, dies at his home in Winnetka. He was a partner in the firm of Shearson Hammill & Company.

March 18

Abandonment of the Shawneetown flood removal project on June 30, due to wartime retrenchment on civilian projects, is announced. Since the removal from the Ohio River to higher ground was started in 1939, about 213 buildings out of the 433 original structures have been shifted.

March 20

Governor Green asks Illinois motorists to comply with President Roosevelt's request for an automobile speed limit of forty miles per hour to conserve tires. State police will enforce this limit.

Benjamin T. Gault, internationally known ornithologist and naturalist born in Decatur, dies at the age of eighty-three in Glen Ellyn.

March 23

The United States Government assumes control of the Toledo, Peoria & Western Railroad to end the three months old strike of 100 trainmen. This road, only 239 miles long, bypasses Chicago, providing a direct route for transcontinental freight shipments between Keokuk, Iowa, and Effner, Indiana.

March 27

Frank M. Ramey, member of Congress from 1929 to 1931, dies at the age of sixty. He had lived in Hillsboro most of his life.

March 31
Nine new southern Illinois oil pools, located near Albion, Akin, Bible Grove, Carmi, Concord, Johnsonville, Coil, New Bellair, and Tamaroa, have been opened during the past month to set an all-time high record. However, only thirty-seven producing wells were completed during the month because of wartime regulations conserving steel.

April 1
The United States Government is given immediate possession of 1,113 acres of land on Kerr Island in the Mississippi River, a part of Madison County. The area will be used for war purposes.

Attorney General George F. Barrett rules that the Illinois State Fair cannot be moved from Springfield to another city without legislative action. The opinion was sought because the Fairgrounds is being used by the United States Army.

April 2
Dr. Joseph Bolivar de Lee, professor emeritus of obstetrics and gynecology at the University of Chicago, dies at his home in Chicago at the age of seventy-two. He formerly taught at Northwestern University Medical School and was the founder of Chicago Lying-In Hospital.

April 3
Dr. Arthur Newell Talbot, world famous engineer, professor emeritus of engineering at the University of Illinois and the founder of its Engineering Experiment Station, dies at the age of eighty-four. An expert on steel and concrete, he had won numerous high awards and was the author of more than four hundred articles.

April 10
Harry M. McCaskrin, member of the Illinois House of Representatives for ten consecutive terms (1920-1940), dies at his home in Rock Island at the age of sixty-eight.

April 12
Dr. John Lovejoy Elliott, native of Princeton, Illinois, dies in New York at the age of seventy-three. A children's social worker, he was the senior leader of the New York Society for Ethical Culture and founder of the Hudson Guild Settlement House.

April 13
An early morning fire sweeps through the business district of Kewanee, destroying or damaging twenty buildings and fifty offices and apartments. The cause of the blaze is unknown.

April 14
The lowest vote in twelve years is recorded in Illinois primary elections. The following persons are nominated for office: United States Senator, C. Wayland Brooks and Raymond S. McKeough; State Treasurer, William G. Stratton and W. D. Forsyth; Superintendent of Public Instruction, Vernon L. Nickell and John A. Wieland; Congressman-at-Large, Stephen A. Day and Benjamin S. Adamowski.

April 17
Arthur Roe of Vandalia, United States attorney for the Eastern Illinois District since 1935, is found dead in East St. Louis, apparently the victim of a heart attack on April 14. He had been a member of the Illinois General Assembly from 1912 to 1934, speaker for two years.

April 27
Illinois men between the ages of forty-five and sixty-five register with some thirteen million other men of the nation. This group—approximately 800,000 in Illinois—will not be liable for military service.

April 28
Rents are frozen at the March 1, 1942, level in 302 defense rental areas of the United States. This will prohibit increases in many Illinois cities.

April 30
A temperature of 90.9 degrees breaks all April records in Chicago.

May 1
Perfunctory meetings of both Democratic and Republican parties are held in Springfield, each of them recessing until a later date.

May 2
Eleven persons are injured and several hundred thousand dollars' worth of property damaged when a tornado strikes Morgan, Sangamon, and Logan counties. Nearly half the town of Franklin, a village of 500 inhabitants, is in ruins and all its communications and electric current are severed. At Riddle Hill, several persons are injured, homes are demolished, and trees blown down. New Berlin, Bradfordton, Bates, Sherman, Andrew, Elkhart, and Lincoln are also damaged.

May 4
Illinois joins the nation in registering for sugar rationing cards. During the next four days each citizen who registers will receive a card which entitles him to a half-pound of sugar per week.

The United States Government halts the use of iron and steel in more than four hundred classes of common civilian articles, effective at midnight. Manufacturers cannot turn to any substitute metals except gold and silver.

MAY 6

Construction work starts on a new war supply depot located south of Springfield.

Dr. Clyde Leclare Grose, chairman of the Department of History at Northwestern University, dies at his home in Evanston. He had been a member of the faculty since 1916.

MAY 7

Dr. Herbert McComb Moore, Presbyterian minister and educator, dies in Lake Forest. He was president of Lake Forest College from 1920 until he retired last February.

MAY 8

A sudden flood of water and gas in the Superior Coal Company's No. 1 mine at Eagerville traps twenty miners. Fourteen escape but the fate of four others caught in a tunnel is unknown.

MAY 13

Frederick B. Roos, practicing lawyer in Chicago for thirty-seven years, dies at his home in Forest Park. He was a member of the Illinois House of Representatives, 1906-1908 and 1910-1914, and the Illinois Senate, 1914-1926.

MAY 14

Bodies of three of the four men trapped in the Superior Coal Company's No. 1 mine near Eagerville are found. The men were caught by a sudden flood in the mine 350 feet below the surface of the ground on May 8.

MAY 15

Charles E. Woodward, judge of the United States District Court, Northern District of Illinois, since 1929, dies at his home in LaGrange. He was assistant attorney general in Illinois from 1905 to 1913.

Definite cancellation of the Illinois State Fair is announced by Governor Green. The United States Army was granted the use of the Fairgrounds in March and the Fair cannot be moved to another city without calling a special session of the legislature.

MAY 18

A Government ceiling becomes effective on the retail prices of virtually everything Americans eat, use or wear. Stores are prohibited from charging higher prices than they charged in March, 1942.

MAY 24

Announcement is made that 600 yacht and motorboat owners in the Chicago naval district have been signed up by the local coastguard auxiliary. These men will do patrol and rescue work along the Lake Michigan waterfront in case of air raids and aid lake boats crippled by storm or fire.

MAY 27

The War Manpower Commission "freezes" workers in critical war industries to their jobs. Effective as soon as arrangements can be made for its operation, this order will prevent labor from moving without approval of the United States Employment Service.

MAY 30

William E. Hull, honorary vice-president and general manager of Hiram Walker & Sons, Inc., Peoria dis-

tillers, dies while on a vacation trip in Toronto, Ontario. He was a member of Congress from 1922 to 1932.

Mark W. Cresap, sixty-nine year old chairman of the board of directors of Hart, Schaffner & Marx, clothing manufacturers, dies at his home in Winnetka. He had been with the firm since 1903.

MAY 31

Members of the Illinois Reserve Militia are recalled from all posts which they have been guarding in the state. The United States War Department has ordered that the militia must be reserved for strictly emergency duty.

A reduction of 39 per cent in motor vehicle fatalities during the past month, when 125 persons were killed, as compared with 206 deaths in May, 1941, is reported by the state highway division. This sets a new low record for May and is the third lowest for any month since 1930.

Seven new oil pools have been discovered in southern Illinois during the past month. They are located near the towns of Kenner, Sailor Springs, Sesser, Valier, Johnsonville, Inman, and St. Jacob. Drilling operations and total production took an upward turn during the month.

JUNE 1

An $8,000,000 building program at the old Glenview Airport, seventeen miles northwest of the Chicago Loop, is disclosed by the United States Navy. The area will be converted into the Navy's largest inland flying base.

Elections to the Illinois Supreme Court result in a Republican majority on the Court for the first time in nine years. William J. Fulton and Charles H. Thompson are elected to office. Re-elected are: June C. Smith, Francis S. Wilson, and Walter T. Gunn.

Logan Hay, seventy-one year old attorney, dies at his home in Springfield. He was a member of the Illinois Senate from 1907 to 1915, and president of the Abraham Lincoln Association since 1920.

Major General Frank Parker, U.S. Army, retired, is named executive secretary of the Illinois State Council of Defense. He succeeds Claude A. Welles, resigned.

JUNE 4

Major General A. E. Inglesh becomes commander of the Illinois Reserve Militia. He succeeds General John V. Clinnin who recently retired.

JUNE 5

An explosion rocks the government munitions plant at Elwood, near Joliet. At least twenty-one persons are killed, as many more injured, and a large building is destroyed.

JUNE 6

The Illinois Neuropsychiatric Institute and Hospital in Chicago is dedicated. Built at a cost of $1,500,000 for the State Department of Public Welfare, it will be devoted to research and teaching in the fields of nervous and mental disorders.

A school for air raid warden instructors of Illinois is opened at Jacksonville by the Illinois State Council of

Defense and the American Legion. It will continue for one week.

JUNE 7

"Dedication to Victory" week marks the end of the first six months of war. Members of the Illinois Reserve Militia Air Corps are mustered into service at Springfield. They will donate their time and the use of their planes to the state.

John A. Speakman, member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1936 to 1940 and the Illinois Senate since 1940, drowns in a boating accident near Kickapoo State Park. His home was in Danville.

Since the explosion at the government munitions plant near Elwood on June 5, the bodies of thirty-eight persons have been found.

JUNE 10

Immediate construction of a 550-mile pipeline from Longview, Texas, to Salem, Illinois, to be used for carrying fuel oil to the East, is approved by WPB. From Salem on, the oil will be distributed by local pipelines, railroads, and tankers on the Ohio River and the Great Lakes.

JUNE 12

Robert R. Jackson, seventy-one year old Negro, dies in Chicago. He was a member of the Illinois legislature from 1912 to 1918 and an alderman in Chicago from 1918 to 1940.

JUNE 14

Flag Day, expanded by presidential order to include homage to the United Nations, is celebrated in Chicago

with a mammoth parade lasting fifteen and one-half hours. Several hundred thousand people participate.

JUNE 15

Dedication exercises of the $7,000,000 Technological Institute of Northwestern University are begun. The building, which contains 350 rooms and $1,000,000 worth of equipment, is the gift of Walter P. Murphy, railway equipment manufacturer.

A nationwide campaign to salvage all scrap rubber is inaugurated. Gasoline filling stations will be collection centers.

JUNE 17

William J. Fulton, Sycamore, and Charles H. Thompson, Harrisburg, are sworn in as members of the Illinois Supreme Court. Re-elected judges who will begin new nine-year terms are June C. Smith, Walter T. Gunn, and Francis S. Wilson.

JUNE 22

Owners of the sixty-five retail stores in Chester, a town of 5,000, close their doors in protest against the picketing of a grocery by an organizer of the Clerks' International Union. Only drug stores, restaurants and taverns remain open.

JUNE 23

Julia Bracken Wendt, native of Apple River, Illinois, and former resident of Chicago, dies at her home in Laguna Beach, California. An internationally famous sculptress, she was the creator of "Illinois Welcoming the Nations" for the World's Columbian Exposition and the bust of Lincoln in Los Angeles.

JUNE 24

The two-day shutdown of all retail stores in Chester is ended. An agreement between merchants and clerks specifies that non-union employees may be hired but that they must join the union within thirty days.

JUNE 26

The fifth national selective service registration begins and will continue for four days. All youths of eighteen and nineteen and those who were twenty since last December 31 are included, but those under twenty will not be taken for military service at present.

The Mississippi River stands at thirty feet at Chester, three feet above flood stage. Many acres of crops are under water.

JUNE 29

The Mississippi River at East St. Louis passes the thirty-four foot level, highest since 1929. The work of strengthening the levees is being rushed at various points between this city and Cairo.

Thomas J. Carney, fifty-six year old president of Sears, Roebuck & Company, dies in Chicago. He started working with the mail-order firm as a temporary clerk in 1903.

JUNE 30

Philip D. Block, one of the founders of the Inland Steel Company and chairman of the executive committee since 1941, dies in Chicago at the age of seventy-one. He had been president of the company for twenty-two years preceding his appointment as chairman.

The month of June has been the wettest month in Illinois in seven years, rainfall for the state averaging 5.47 inches, 1.52 inches above normal. The largest amount recorded during the month was 12.98 inches at Centralia.

July 1
All retail stores of the state and nation halt sales for fifteen minutes at noon to sell nothing but war stamps and bonds. The plan is adopted to help the Treasury Department reach its goal of $1,000,000,000 in July.

July 2
A main levee on the flood swollen Mississippi River five miles south of Grand Tower, Illinois, breaks. Approximately 25,000 square miles of wheat, potato, and alfalfa hay land are flooded.

July 3
James A. Nowlan, serving his fourth term as state representative, dies at Rochester, Minnesota. He was publisher of the *Stark County News* at Toulon and the *Galva News* at Galva.

July 8
Heavy winds, lightning, and torrential rains cause great damage in central Illinois. Travel is severely hampered by fallen trees and overflowing creeks near Jacksonville and Beardstown. Later in the day a similar cloudburst occurs near Salem and Sandoval.

Frederic Burnham, prominent trial lawyer, dies at the age of sixty-one. He had practiced law in Chicago since 1906.

JULY 9

Cloudbursts continue in central and southern Illinois. Carlinville has the worst flood in its history, with 7.78 inches in two nights and one day. East of Salem, a 120,000,000 gallon auxiliary reservoir gives way, flooding a broad area of bottomland. Richland Creek, near Belleville, goes on a rampage, spreading over a mile in some sections and forcing some 300 families to evacuate their homes.

JULY 11

The Czech village of Stern Park Gardens, near Joliet, is renamed Lidice in memory of the Czechoslovakian village recently wiped out by the Nazis.

JULY 13

Announcement is made that the United States Navy has purchased 195 acres of land on the Illinois River in LaSalle and Grundy counties on which a plant for the construction of auxiliary naval vessels will be erected.

JULY 16

Lincoln Bancroft, member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1916 to 1926, is fatally injured in an automobile accident. He had lived in Greenup and Taylorville most of his life.

Chauncey Osborn Frisbie, retired vice-president of the North American Car Corporation, Chicago, dies at the age of seventy-five.

George W. Ziller is indicted on five confidence game and conspiracy charges by the McLean County grand jury. He is accused of collecting sums varying from $25 to

$350 from workers obtaining jobs at government ordnance plants in the Joliet area. Ziller claims that he made the collections as a labor union agent.

An intensified drive to salvage scrap metals, tin, fat and other materials opens in Illinois and the rest of the nation. Meat markets will pay four cents a pound for fats, while other scrap will be taken to junk dealers.

JULY 22

William W. Wilson, member of Congress from 1903 to 1913 and 1915 to 1921, dies at his home in Chicago. He was assistant United States attorney general during the Harding administration.

JULY 24

Major General Frank C. Mahin, commander of the 33rd (Illinois) Division, is killed in an Army airplane crash near Waynesboro, Tennessee. He had served in the Army for thirty-two years.

JULY 26

George J. Bauer, serving his seventh term in the Illinois House of Representatives, dies at his home in Effingham.

R. Allan Stephens, member of the bar for forty years and prominent churchman, dies at his home in Springfield. He was editor of the *Illinois Bar Journal* from 1913 to 1935 and secretary of the Illinois State Bar Association since 1916.

JULY 30

The past month has been the wettest July in twenty-seven years, with an average rainfall of 4.89 inches. Totals of 11.98 inches at Grafton and 11.59 at Carlinville are the heaviest amounts recorded.

JULY 31
Only 114 automobile fatalities have occurred in the state during the past month. This is 46 per cent less than last year and 38 per cent below the July average of the past ten years.

AUGUST 1
The United States Government takes over the Stevens and Congress hotels in Chicago. The first group of students to live there while training for the Army Air Corps will arrive early in September.

Rents throughout the United States are frozen at the March 1, 1942, level. For three months past this ceiling has been in effect in 302 defense centers of the country.

AUGUST 4
Brigadier General William Keith Naylor, retired, a native of Bloomington, Illinois, dies at the age of sixty-seven. He served in the Boxer Rebellion, Spanish-American War, and World War I and was the author of several books on military subjects.

AUGUST 6
Dr. James Hayden Tufts, author of numerous books, dies at the age of eighty. He taught philosophy at the University of Chicago, 1900-1930, was dean of faculties, 1923-1926, and vice-president, 1924-1926.

AUGUST 7
A 2.73 inch rainfall in Chicago within an hour and a half floods many Chicago streets and underpasses. All loop traffic signals cease operating because of a power failure at City Hall.

August 9
Illinois joins in the nationwide drive to salvage scrap iron and steel. The state's quota is 100,000 tons.

August 12
Thirty-six northern Illinois counties and various other parts of the state take part in a test blackout that covers parts of four midwestern states. Only those lights necessary for water, air, and railroad navigation, and for war plants, remain illuminated.

Frederick Haines, member of the legislature from 1902 to 1906, dies at the age of seventy-eight. His home was in Rockford.

August 20
The Republican state convention is held in Springfield. A platform is adopted, and Frank McKelvey, Springfield, Dr. Martin G. Luken, Chicago, and C. C. Davis, Wayne, are nominated as candidates for University of Illinois trustees.

August 23
Ralph Brownell Dennis, director and dean of the School of Speech at Northwestern University for twenty-nine years, dies while vacationing in Cuernavaca, Mexico. He retired last June.

August 31
A twenty-five per cent reduction in traffic fatalities in Illinois has been made during the first eight months of this year. The reduction in the number of deaths is in proportion to the decreased mileage now being driven because of the rubber shortage.

A sixty per cent drop in the number of successful oil

wells completed in the state during the first eight months of this year as compared with the same period last year is reported. Successful wells completed this year number 702, while the total for the first nine months of 1941 was 1,802. The decrease is caused by the war.

SEPTEMBER 9

The Western Cartridge Company at East Alton shuts down when American Federation of Labor Chemical Workers strike because of the company's refusal to reinstate the union local's president. The plant is engaged in vital war production work.

SEPTEMBER 10

The Democratic state convention is held in Springfield. A platform is adopted and the following persons are nominated for University of Illinois trustees: T. V. Smith, Chicago; Kenney E. Williamson, Peoria; and Walter Williams, Benton.

Dr. Frederick R. Mueller, Chicago orthopedic surgeon, dies at the age of seventy-one. He was a professor emeritus at Loyola University.

Arthur W. Glessner, president of the Excelsior Steel Furnace Company since 1891, dies at the age of eighty-one. He was also editor of the *Galena Gazette*, Galena, for forty-six years.

SEPTEMBER 12

Illinois' new mobile crime laboratory is dedicated. The huge vehicle contains numerous devices for crime detection, emergency hospital equipment, and an array of weapons including machine guns.

The four-day strike at the Western Cartridge Company's huge East Alton plant is ended, with all but the chemical workers' local president, Francis Bunzy, returning to their jobs. Hearings on the dispute will be heard by the War Labor Board in Washington later.

September 16
Four persons are killed and at least nine injured when a head-on collision occurs between the Southwestern Limited, fast passenger train, and an oil freight train, on the New York Central Lines near Ashmore.

September 17
Frank Cuneo, pioneer produce dealer and philanthropist, dies at the age of eighty. He had been engaged in business in Chicago for over sixty years.

September 18
Immediate possession of 8,320 acres in Fulton County is given to the United States Government for a military installation.

September 22
The first class under a revised curriculum enters the Univeristy of Chicago. A group of 125 students who have completed the sophomore year of high school are starting the four-year college course; at the same time 625 high school graduates will become juniors in the University.

Joseph B. Gill, member of the legislature from 1888 to 1892 and lieutenant governor of Illinois from 1892 to 1896, dies at the age of eighty. He was a native of Williamson County.

SEPTEMBER 24

Three hundred thousand acres of hemp will be planted in Illinois in 1943, according to plans approved by WPB. To provide rope and twine needed for wartime purposes, it is planned to construct seventy-one mills for hemp processing near the planting areas.

SEPTEMBER 25

The first freezing temperatures and snowfall of the season occur in various parts of northern and central Illinois. Damage to soybeans and garden crops is extensive.

SEPTEMBER 28

Scrapping of 151 miles of the lines of the Illinois Terminal Railroad so that thousands of tons of metal may be obtained for war purposes is ordered by WPB. On October 11 service is to be discontinued on the lines from Mackinaw Junction to Decatur and from Decatur to Danville.

SEPTEMBER 29

The Illinois Commerce Commission denies the petition of the Illinois Terminal Railroad to discontinue passenger service on certain sections of its lines requisitioned by WPB. The request is refused because of vital need of a transportation link between the cities affected.

SEPTEMBER 30

William V. Pacelli, member of the Illinois General Assembly from 1924 to 1930, dies in Chicago. He was a political leader among the Italian-Americans.

Motor vehicle deaths in Illinois during the first nine months of 1942 have been reduced twenty-eight per cent from the same period in 1941. The figure for 1942 so far is 1,321.

October 1
A change of venue from the McLean County Court is granted to George W. Ziller. He is awaiting trial on confidence game and conspiracy charges.

Automobiles in Illinois slow down to thirty-five miles per hour as a nationwide speed limit goes into effect to conserve rubber.

Fuel oil is rationed in thirty states, including Illinois. Though coupon books are not yet ready, it will be sold only in accordance with a coupon credit system.

October 3
President Roosevelt orders immediate stabilization of farm prices, rents, wages and salaries and creates an Office of Economic Stabilization to carry out the order. James F. Byrnes is named Director of the office. The rent ceiling is also extended over the entire nation.

October 4
The Government freezes railroad passenger schedules, restricting all passenger trains to schedules existing on September 26. Special trains to sports events and special cars chartered for baseball teams, orchestras, etc., are ruled out.

October 6
Dr. James A. Campbell dies at his home in Marissa. He was formerly superintendent of the East Moline State Hospital.

October 8
Dr. Herbert Anthony Potts, outstanding oral surgeon, dies at his home in Evanston. He had been practicing

medicine in Chicago for thirty-four years and was professor emeritus of oral surgery at Northwestern University.

October 9

Seven convicts escape from Stateville Penitentiary, leaving two guards and one civilian wounded. Roger Touhy and Basil Banghart, Chicago gangsters serving ninety-nine year terms for kidnaping, are leaders in the break for freedom.

A court injunction temporarily blocks Government seizure of 151 miles of track on the Illinois Terminal Railroad, on which service was to have been terminated by order of WPB on October 11.

October 10

The Western Cartridge Company, munitions plant at East Alton, closes down when American Federation of Labor molders and brass workers walk out, charging that the company has refused to meet with their grievance committee.

October 11

Wilbur Glenn Voliva, general overseer of the Christian Catholic Church in Zion, Illinois, since 1907, dies at the age of seventy-two.

October 14

Striking workers at the Western Cartridge Company, East Alton, return to work after a four-day strike has halted production of vital war materials. The WLB will place a mediator in the plant to handle all labor disputes.

October 15

The Chicago Beach Hotel, a landmark on Chicago's South Side for some fifty years, becomes a military reservation as the property of the Army Air Forces Technical Training Command. After remodeling, it will be used as a station hospital.

An Army transport plane on a routine flight crashes three miles from the Chicago airport, killing all nine occupants.

October 17

Omer N. Custer, sixty-eight year old publisher of the *Galesburg Register-Mail* and former state official, dies in Galesburg. He served two terms as state treasurer (1925-1927 and 1929-1931) and was chairman of the state tax commission, 1930-1931.

Charles M. Thompson, dean of the College of Commerce at the University of Illinois, is named rubber co-ordinator for Illinois. He will conduct surveys of the state's production of raw materials and industrial and transportation facilities essential for the manufacture of synthetic rubber.

October 18

Edward M. Stubblefield resigns as warden of Stateville Penitentiary. T. P. Sullivan, state director of public safety, will be in active charge until a new warden is named.

John Hay Abbott dies at the age of seventy-one. He had been vice-president of the Continental-Illinois National Bank and Trust Company and its predecessors since 1904.

October 19
WPB orders the collection of tin cans in cities with a population of 25,000 or more in fifteen states including Illinois. Municipalities will collect the cans and send them to detinning plants.

October 20
Joseph E. Ragen is appointed as warden of Stateville and Joliet prisons. He succeeds E. M. Stubblefield, who resigned on October 18.

Dr. Frederick A. Stock, well-known composer and conductor of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra since 1905, dies at the age of sixty-nine. Born in Germany, he came to Chicago at the age of twenty-three to play the viola in the orchestra then conducted by Theodore Thomas.

October 21
President Roosevelt signs the biggest tax bill on record today, calling for unprecedented individual income taxes and a victory tax levied on everyone making over $624 per year. The latter will take effect on January 1, 1943.

October 22
Charles Coia, member of the Illinois House of Representatives for eight terms (1918-1922 and 1924-1936), dies in Chicago.

October 26
The first treason trial ever held in Illinois opens in federal court in Chicago. Hans Max and Erna Haupt, Walter and Lucille Froehling, and Otto R. and Kate Wergin will stand trial. They are relatives and friends of Herbert Hans Haupt, who died in the electric chair on August 8 for his part in a sabotage plot.

A 400 acre plot in the Red Hills area of Lawrence County has been purchased by the State of Illinois for a new state park. Plans for the project, announced today, call for a large lake east of Sumner.

October 30
The sweeping anti-gambling injunction, issued nearly two years ago, by Circuit Judge Maurice V. Joyce at Belleville, is set aside by the Illinois Court of Appeals, which holds that a court of equity cannot enforce criminal law by injunction.

November 3
Citizens of Illinois elect the following state officers: C. Wayland Brooks, United States senator; Stephen A. Day, congressman-at-large; William G. Stratton, state treasurer; and Vernon L. Nickell, superintendent of public instruction. The proposal for a constitutional amendment to remove the sales tax on food is voted down.

William M. Brinkman, former member of the Illinois Commerce Commission and state representative (1914-1924), dies at his home in Chicago.

November 12
Attorney General Barrett asks Judge Maurice V. Joyce of the St. Clair County Circuit Court to dismiss the civil case now pending against Illinois horse race bookmakers. This action is made necessary by the decision of the 4th district appellate court of October 30.

November 13
The President signs a bill lowering the draft age to eighteen.

NOVEMBER 14

Six relatives and friends of the executed saboteur, Herbert Hans Haupt, are convicted of treason in Chicago. This is only the second treason conviction in the history of the United States.

NOVEMBER 17

Sections of an Illinois "heart balm" law passed in 1935, prohibiting the naming of corespondents in suits for divorce, annulment, separate maintenance or child custody are held unconstitutional by the Illinois Supreme Court. Another decision of the Court upholds the Macon County Circuit Court conviction of five labor union agents for bombing an oil pipeline near Decatur in 1940.

NOVEMBER 18

Ruling on the constitutionality of an ordinance of Bloomington, the Illinois Supreme Court upholds the right of Illinois cities and villages to install parking meters on their streets.

Eighty-eight persons are injured in two elevated train crashes in Chicago during the morning rush hour. The collisions take place on opposite sides of the city.

President Roosevelt calls on all youths who have reached the age of eighteen since July 1 to register for military service between December 11 and 31. Six hundred thousand are expected to register.

NOVEMBER 24

Federal Judge William J. Campbell, Chicago, sentences three German-American men to death. Each of their wives receives a twenty-five year prison sentence and a

fine of $10,000. The defendants—Hans Max and Erna Haupt, Walter and Lucille Froehling, and Otto and Kate Wergin—were convicted of treasonably aiding Herbert Hans Haupt, executed Nazi saboteur.

November 26
War industries of the state and nation continue their usual work on Thanksgiving. No holidays are given this year.

November 27
William Atwill, former vice-president and general manager of the Illinois Central Railroad, dies in Chicago. He retired in 1940 after forty-five years of service with the railroad.

November 29
Nationwide coffee rationing begins. One pound will be allowed each person over fifteen years old every five weeks.

November 30
The past month has been the second wettest recorded in Illinois in the past fifty-three years of record-keeping. Precipitation for the entire state averaged 5.12 inches, 2.48 inches above normal, with some places having over 8 inches.

December 1
The Illinois Commerce Commission orders the Illinois Terminal Railroad Company to continue service on its Mackinaw Junction-Decatur and Decatur-Danville branches. The order follows a series of hearings on the question of junking the lines for scrap metal, as proposed by WPB on September 28.

Gasoline rationing, already in effect in nineteen states and the District of Columbia, begins in Illinois and the remainder of the nation. During the first ration period in this state each car owner will be allowed four gallons per week. Not more than five tires are allowed for each car.

DECEMBER 2

The Chicago Market Fat Stock Show, substituting for the annual International Livestock Exposition which was canceled because of the war, opens at the stockyards in Chicago, with 6,349 animals entered.

An average yield of 191.64 bushels of corn per acre on a ten acre plot makes Paul Peabody, Edinburg, Illinois, the winner of the Illinois ten acre corn growing contest and holder of a new world record for ten acre yields.

DECEMBER 4

The 1,135 pound grand champion steer of the Chicago Market Fat Stock Show, exhibited by T. Richard Lacy of Kansas, Illinois, is sold to the Chicago Division of the National Association of Hotel and Restaurant Meat Purveyors. It will be sent to General Douglas MacArthur in Australia.

WPA is ordered out of existence by President Roosevelt because of wartime increases in private employment. The order becomes effective February 1, 1943, in many places, in others as soon as feasible.

DECEMBER 5

Judge Lawrence B. Stringer dies at his home in Lincoln at the age of seventy-six. He was just completing twenty-four consecutive years as county judge of Logan County.

He had previously served as a state representative (1890-1894), state senator (1900-1904) and Congressman-at-large (1912-1914).

December 9

Preparations are being made to keep the Illinois River open for navigation this winter to facilitate war shipments from the Great Lakes region to the Gulf of Mexico.

Eric Edwin Hall, architect in Chicago since 1912, dies at the age of fifty-nine. He designed some 250 buildings in Chicago and Cook County.

December 11

Registration of youths who have reached the age of eighteen since July 1 is begun and will continue until December 31. Eighteen and nineteen year olds are now eligible for military service.

December 14

A $1,000,000 fire destroys a huge warehouse of the Kroger Grocery & Baking Company at Carbondale. It was a distributing center for 146 grocery stores.

The first all-welded large tank-carrying craft for the United States Navy built in the Middle West is launched at Seneca, Illinois. Unique in construction, it was built by the Chicago Bridge and Iron Company entirely without use of overhead cranes.

December 16

Walter P. Murphy, president of the Standard Railway Equipment Manufacturing Company of Chicago, and donor of Northwestern University's Technological In-

stitute, dies in Los Angeles. His home was in Lake Bluff.

DECEMBER 17

A gift of 2,754 acres by the Federal Government to the State of Illinois is announced. The area, which adjoins Pere Marquette State Park on the north, will be operated as a vacation camp for organized groups.

DECEMBER 23

Fuel oil consumers in thirteen midwestern states including Illinois begin getting increased rations because of recent sub-normal temperatures.

DECEMBER 26

The U.S.S. *Peto*, naval submarine built at Manitowoc, Wisconsin, enters the Chicago River. At Lockport it will be placed in a floating dry dock to be towed down the Illinois and Mississippi rivers to New Orleans.

Edward Scott Beck, Chicago newspaperman, dies in Chicago, aged seventy-four. Associated with the *Chicago Tribune* since 1893, he served as managing editor from 1910 to 1937 and assistant editor-in-chief from 1937 until January, 1942.

DECEMBER 28

Ninety-two former Illinois convicts who enlisted for military service after being paroled from state prisons, are freed from further parole restrictions of the state. Their release is announced by the Illinois Corrective Division.

Samuel J. Tilden Straus, for many years senior vice-president of S. W. Straus & Company, mortgage banking

firm, and one of the founders of the American National Bank & Trust Company of Chicago, dies at the age of sixty-six.

DECEMBER 29

Roger Touhy, Basil Banghart and Edward Darlak, desperadoes who fled Stateville Prison on October 9, are captured in Chicago by F.B.I. men. Two other members of the gang of seven who escaped have been captured and two killed by the G-men within the last couple weeks.

DECEMBER 31

A gift of $20,000,000 to Northwestern University from the estate of the late Walter P. Murphy is announced by Franklyn B. Snyder, president.

The gross value of principal farm crops in Illinois during the past year was $623,295,000, nearly eighteen per cent greater than in 1941. This, the fourth largest gross value on record, is exceeded only by the World War I years when farm prices were higher. The corn crop, making up fifty-eight per cent of the total, averaged 54.5 bushels per acre.

HISTORICAL NOTE

LINCOLNIANA IN THE POLISH MUSEUM IN CHICAGO

The Archives and Museum of the Polish Roman Catholic Union, Chicago, has the following original letter of General John A. McClernand, endorsed by Abraham Lincoln and Winfield Scott:

Washington City
Augst 10th, 1861

Lieut. Genl Winfield Scott.
Sir:

You will greatly oblige me by recommending to the President of the United States, in pursuance of the Act of Congress Augst 5th 1861, the appointment, by him, of Alexander Bielaski, to be my Aid de Camp.

Reasons for the Appointment

–1st Mr. B. is a gentleman of military education and experience, and bears the marks of honorable Service in European war.

–2nd He is believed to be an accomplished Engineer and Draughtsman.

–3d His skill might compensate any deficiency that might exist in regard to my aids to be appointed, from the Volunteer Officers of my Command.

Yours respectfully
John A. McClernand
Brigr. Genl.

Endorsed:
Let Alexander Bielaski be appointed an Aid de Camp, with the rank of Captain, to Brigadier General McClernand.

A. Lincoln

August 10, 1861

I have great pleasure in recommending the within named Mr. Bielaski, as an aide-de-Camp of Brig. Genl McClernand.

Winfield Scott

Alexander Bielaski was born in Poland in 1811, and was educated in Russian military engineer schools. When the Polish Insurrection against Russia broke out in 1830, he immediately joined the Polish Army, fought bravely in several battles and was severely

wounded in the Battle of Grochow. In 1832 he came to the United States and became a civil engineer. From 1835 to 1837 he made topographical surveys in Florida. In 1837, he settled in Illinois and was one of the pioneer engineers of the Illinois Central Railroad. In 1842 he married Miss Ann Carey of Springfield, Illinois. In 1843-1844, he was in Mexico, working there in his professional capacity. He later returned to Springfield. From 1845 to 1861 he was connected with the General Land Office in Washington, D.C. He was one of the first volunteers for the Union Army in 1861. When Grant attacked the Confederate camp at Belmont, Missouri, on November 7, 1861, Captain Bielaski "having dismounted from his horse, which had been several times wounded, was shot down while advancing with the flag of his adopted country in his hand, and calling on the men in his rear to follow him."

"A braver man never fell on a field of battle," reported General Logan, and General McClernand wrote of him: "His bravery was only equalled by his fidelity as a soldier and patriot. He died, making the Stars and Stripes his winding sheet. Honored be his memory."

The Archives and Museum of the Polish R. C. Union, 984 Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, has a rich collection of materials on the history of Poles in this country and on the culture of Poland. One of its treasures is the Paderewski Memorial Room, full of relics of the great pianist and statesman.

MIECISLAUS HAIMAN.

CHICAGO, ILL.

THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

STYLES IN NAMES

Almost everybody has remarked upon the peculiarity of the Western people in calling their children by out-of-the way names. George Washington, Christopher Columbus, Andrew Jackson, Lafayette, and similar names, are as plenty as blackberries. The old-fashioned mode of calling after kindred, is generally discarded, and I have heard persons say they have made search for a name to their child which should be like that of no other person. In this spirit Mr. Ezra Smith called one of his boys Laertes Starr, another Villeroy, and one of his girls Pluma Adaliza. I have heard of a farmer of the name of Job New, in Iowa, who called his first child Something, and his second Nothing, as a standing joke upon his family increase. An eccentric auctioneer at New Orleans christened his twin daughters Ibid and Ditto; and a gentleman on the banks of the Miami, of the name of Stickney, designated his children in numerical order, commencing with the first born—One Stickney, Two Stickney, and so on down to the infant, who is called Five Stickney. As a sample of Christian names of men, there are—

Shann	Lyne	Dewey	Orin
Leroy	Spafford	Azel	Shephard
Parmenio	Mahlon	Gershom	Cordon
Dorsey	Imri	Onslow	Lany
Chauncey	Selah	Levin	Albion

Of women, we may mention the names of

Manda	Pernicia	Honora	Selia
Mahala	Harmonia	Clementine	Emerline
Cynthia	Prudence	Essay	Florida
Maine Augusta	Almira	Gustava	Al da
Luana	Livonia	Orange	Lena

JOHN REGAN, *The Emigrant's Guide to the Western States of America* [1852], 108.

GEORGE E. CONGDON,

WHOLESALE DEALER IN

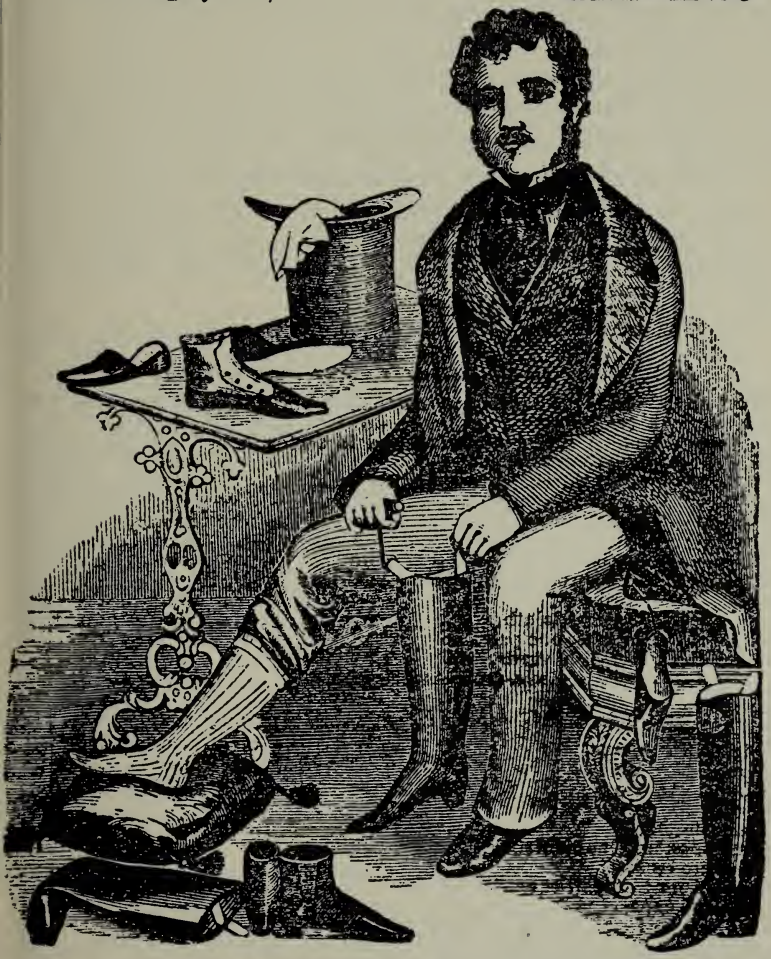
BOOTS AND SHOES,

(Sign of the Checkered Boot,)

32 Lake Street, corner Wabash Avenue,

Over Tuttle, Hibbard & Company.

CHICAGO.



From The Hand Book of Chicago 1859

A Gentleman of Fashion, Civil War Style

THE YANKEE AND THE WESTERNER

Henry is here [Cortland, Ill.] with me—he makes me laugh sometimes at his quaint ideas of Western men and Western manners. To tell the truth I presume I have been in the West long enough to become perfectly at home here, and to have imbibed their customs and their manners. In fact when I was in R.I. last fall almost everybody remarked that I had a Western air—and pronunciation.

The Southern, Middle State and Western men are so nearly alike that they readily coalesce on being thrown together. The English who make a small percent of our population readily accommodate themselves to the circumstances surrounding them.

But the truth is, that in spite of railroads and steamers, with the immense travel they occasion, the Yankee and the Western man are yet strangers, and their opinions of each other have mainly been made up from caricatures.

Too often the Yankee imagines the Western man to be what the letter writers make David Crockett—a rattling harum scarum—rough—roystering, rifle shooting—coonskin clad specimen of humanity. This he takes to be the *genus* and not the mere species. His idea of a Western preacher is Peter Cartwright—or he that "played on a harp of a thousand strings." His idea of a Western politician is taken from some of the stump speeches of Arkansas or Texas. As I said before his idea of a Western preacher is Peter Cartwright, forgetting that for eccentric preachers New England cant be beat. The true refinement, education, and courtesy of the West are underrated.

The Western mans fancy paints the Yankee as a long, lank, cadaverous individual, who habited in swallow tailed coat with brass buttons, and striped kerseymeres, deals promiscuously in psalm singing and notions, in town meetings and notions, in radicalism and reapers. He forgets that the West is great on horse-swapping and conventions—he forgets that sharpness is as truly indigenous to Western Prairies as to New England Hills.

The Western man is apt to consider the Yankee as a restless innovator—one who cares not for name or authority but goes on "peeking into everything" and "guessing" this had better be done in *this* way while the Westerner "reckons" it had better be done *that* way.

The Yankee is too apt to *think* and *speak* of the *immaturity* of Western usages—of the necessity of changes to suit a *refined* people—and similar forms of speech which are so many "winning ways to make himself disliked."

It seems to me such a misunderstanding need not exist: it rather seems to me there should be built up a class of people who can harmonize in themselves the excellencies of all sections—and reject their defects.

I am Eastern born and Eastern grown in part. I love this glorious Western empire, and as I write my blood, yet youthful stirs at the grand future which awaits it. Tis glorious to battle in such an arena. I write therefore, with the *animus* of an *Eastern* man by birth and education but a *Western* man by preference.

Diary of SAMUEL A. BRIGGS, Feb. 13, 1858 (MS, Ill. State Hist. Lib.).

TRAVELERS' ACCOMMODATIONS ON THE FRONTIER

Upon approaching the cabin, several large dogs came furiously toward me, and one of them, in particular, was so daring, that I found it necessary to halt. The owner of the mansion was aroused, and after having silenced his dogs, very hospitably offered me such accommodations as he was able to give, and which I certainly felt grateful in receiving, under the circumstances in which I was then placed. On reaching his cabin, I found it to be the very abode of poverty itself. The cabin was built of small poles—about 12 feet square—so low that I was unable to stand erect; without any other floor than the earth,—was covered with bark, instead of shingles, and entirely without a chimney or a window of any kind. The door or entrance was closed by setting split plank on end on the inside. This establishment has sheltered a family during the last three years, consisting of the man, his wife and seven children. Within the house there is neither bed-stead, chair or table, a long bench serving for the latter.

The man of the house was a small, ill-shapen, withered Irishman; the woman a perfect gipsey, tall, lank, and lantern jawed, with long flowing black hair, and with a skin which seemed to have been smoked, until she had the hue of a tartar or a creole. One of

their children was sick at this time, and all of them were almost entirely destitute of clothes, altho' some of them were girls of 10, 12 or 14 years of age. Having been without refreshment from morning, and feeling much exhausted and hungry, I inquired for something to eat—but their poverty in this particular, corresponded with their situation in other respects. They had neither bread, flour, meal, meat, butter, nor cheese.—and were only able to furnish me a cup of sour milk, of which I partook, and lay down upon an old mat spread upon the ground in front of the fire, but it was impossible to sleep—fleas innumerable, kept me in torment until daylight, when I again mounted my horse and pursued my journey after paying "mine host" a half dollar for his accommodations.

CHESTER A. LOOMIS, *A Journey on Horseback Through the Great West, in 1825*, (17).

A FERRYMAN'S FARE

Major Campton is the name of a noted character, who once resided in Galena. He is a powerfully built man, who has spent his whole life among the wildest of mortals, and whose various occupations have caused him to be well known from the banks of the Ohio to the shores of Lake Superior, where he is now figuring in the copper line, having made and lost a fortune at Galena. A natural consequence of his peculiar experience is, that he perfectly understands the art of fighting: though he is so much of a gentleman, that he could not be called a bully.

It so happened that, while travelling in his own conveyance, and accompanied by his wife, during a pleasant day last summer he came to a halt on the margin of a certain river, and shouted for the ferryman. In due time the indispensable gentleman was ready, and while inquiring the news of the day, he was suddenly smitten by a new thought, and dropping the painter of the old scow, looked inquiringly into the Major's face, when the following dialogue ensued:—

"Stranger, isn't your name Major Campton?"

"Yes, sir, it is. What business have you to transact with me?"

"You are the very man I have long been wanting to see, for you must know that I am the Bully of the north."

"Indeed! What do I care for that?"

"I've hearn tell that you are a famous fighter, and I should like to have you give me a thrashing if you can."

"Why, man, I have nothing against you, and do not want to make a fool of myself."

"But you shall, though, my honey; and you don't cross this ferry until it is decided who is cock of the walk."

Remonstrance on the part of the Major was all in vain, the ferryman was determined to fight. The Major held a short consultation with his lady, who was of course in great trouble, but taking off his coat and unbuttoning his straps, he stept out upon a grassy spot and waited for the ferryman's attack. To shorten a long story, the fight was a tedious one, and ended in the total defeat of the challenger, who presented in himself, after the struggle, an admirable picture of a misspent life. He had strength enough left, however, to ferry the Champion over the river; and when the Major offered to pay the accustomed fare, the latter held not out his hand, but making a rude bow, he exclaimed;—"*Not a dime, sir: good afternoon.*"

CHARLES LANMAN, *A Summer in the Wilderness* (1847), 43-44.

DINING CAR BREAKFAST, 1882

"*As you journey through Life Live by the Way.*"

BREAKFAST
Now ready,
Served in first-class Style,
Price 75 cents.
A DINING CAR
Is attached to this train.
"Eat and be satisfied."
PASSENGERS
Will appreciate this new feature of
"Life on the Road."

BREAKFAST BILL OF FARE

English Breakfast Tea.

French Coffee. Chocolate. Ice Milk.

BREAD.

French Loaf. Boston Brown Bread. Corn Bread.

Hot Rolls.

Dry, Dipped, Cream and Buttered Toast.

BROILED.

Tenderloin Steak, plain or with Mushrooms.

Spring Chicken. Mutton Chops. Veal Cutlets.

Sirloin Steak. Sugar Cured Ham.

GAME IN THEIR SEASON.

OYSTERS IN THEIR SEASON.

FRIED.

Calf's Liver with Bacon. Country Sausage. Trout.

EGGS.

Fried. Scrambled. Boiled. Omelets. Plain.

RELISHES.

Radishes. Chow Chow. French Mustard.

Worcestershire Sauce. Currant Jelly.

Mixed Pickles. Horse Radish.

Tomato Catsup. Walnut Catsup.

VEGETABLES.

Stewed, Fried and Boiled Potatoes.

FRUITS.

Apples. Oranges.

T. S. HUDSON, *A Scamper Through America* (1882), 83-84.

NEWS AND COMMENT

One can imagine an argument in the office of Farrar & Rinehart over the inclusion of the Chicago River in their *Rivers of America Series*. "Why bother with that little pint-sized stream?" someone must have asked scornfully. "It's only a few miles long, it's been made to flow backward, there's a bridge over it at almost every street, and Lord only knows how many tunnels underneath. Anyhow"—and this would be the clincher—"it's oily and it's scummy and it stinks!"

If any such argument was advanced, readers should be thankful that it was overruled. The Chicago is short, and it has never been a thing of beauty. But for almost three centuries it has been one of North America's great avenues of inland traffic, and for a hundred years it has touched intimately the life of the nation's second city. Quite a number of larger streams have been included in the *Rivers of America Series* with less justification.

Harry Hansen, Middle Westerner by all but residence, tells the story of the river with understanding and affection.[1] The tale begins with Marquette, Jolliet, and the other French explorers, and leads to Fort Dearborn, the massacre, the Kinzie clan, and the first settlers. Then comes the city, with its own highlights of history—the nomination of Lincoln, the great fire, the dedication of the Auditorium, the World's Fair of 1893. The city's history, however, does not monopolize the book. Events of national interest give way to accounts of the shabby houseboats on the North Branch, of the city's bridges, and of the Christmas tree schooner *Rouse Simmons*. There are river tragedies too, the worst of which was the capsizing of the *Eastland* in 1915.

One of the gratifying qualities of *The Chicago* is its range. In addition to the city and the river, Hansen has included an account of the Illinois and Michigan Canal and its successor, the Deep Waterway, and something of the Des Plaines and the Kankakee. If at times this means spreading the narrative rather thin, readers should re-

[1] *The Chicago*. Farrar & Rinehart. $2.50.

member that no single volume on this subject can be more than an introduction, and they should be thankful for one so graceful and well informed as this.

Not of the *Rivers of America Series*, but comparing favorably with not a few that have been included in it, is *Sinnissippi*, by James M. Phalen.[2] This is the story of the Rock River and the towns that lie in its lovely valley.

The Rock River's history is Indian history. The great Wisconsin marsh in which the river had its source was an Indian paradise because of its abundance of fish, game, and wild rice; at the river's mouth stood Sauk and Fox villages for a century. Its valley, moreover, was the scene of the Black Hawk War, that compounding of force and tragedy that drove the Indian from Illinois forever and opened the northern part of the state to white settlement.

Colonel Phalen, a native of Harvard, Illinois, who is now in charge of the Army Medical Museum in Washington, D.C., tells the story of the Rock River Valley with skill and understanding. Wisely, he has not allowed the romance of Indian history to monopolize his pages. The lead country, some miles distant, comes within his purview; so too do Grand Detour and the story of John Deere, Oregon and its artists' colony, Dixon and Margaret Fuller. And to one reader at least, the chapter, "Depression Year in the Metropolis,"—an account of Rockford during the Panic of 1893—reveals as clearly as anything he has ever read some of the essential differences between the United States of fifty years ago and the United States of today.

The Rock River, one of the most beautiful streams in the Middle West and one of the most historic, well deserves the tribute Colonel Phalen has paid it—a book of its own.

The Rock River figures largely in another recent book—the fortieth volume in that inimitable series of reprints, *The Lakeside Classics*. Entitled *The Early Day of Rock Island and Davenport*, the cur-

[2] Privately printed by the author, care of The Association of Military Surgeons, Washington, D.C.

rent volume is a reprint of J. W. Spencer's *Reminiscences of Pioneer Life in the Mississippi Valley* (Davenport, 1872), and J. M. D. Burrows, *Fifty Years in Iowa* (Davenport, 1888). Milo M. Quaife contributes an introduction, as he has for many years.

J. W. Spencer, a native of Vermont, came to Illinois in 1820, and settled in the vicinity of Rock Island in 1829. His narrative describes the life of a pioneer settler, but deals in the main with the Black Hawk War, in which he took an active part. Burrows' narrative is of a different kind. The author bought a squatter's claim adjacent to Davenport, Iowa, in 1839, but in the following year he established a general store in the small but growing village. Storekeeping led to pork-packing and grain buying and milling, even to private banking. For years the firm of Burrows and Prettyman was one of the largest and soundest establishments in eastern Iowa. Unfortunately, they were caught in the aftermath of the Panic of 1857, and two disastrous fires thwarted Burrows' attempts to retrieve his fortune in the milling business. He died a defeated business man, but not an embittered one. His story is a fine account of the trials and triumphs of the pioneer merchant—a character rarely portrayed in historical literature.

The *Lakeside Classics* are distributed only to the customers of The Lakeside Press (R. R. Donnelley & Sons Co., Chicago), and to a small number of libraries. Fortunately, some always find their way into the hands of dealers in out-of-print books, and through them, to institutions and individuals not on the publisher's list.

The strategical importance of Alaska and its prominence in the news of the hour makes the publication of *The First Scientific Exploration of Russian America and the Purchase of Alaska*, by James A. James,[3] especially timely. The book is built around the journals of two young Illinois scientists and explorers, Robert Kennicott and Henry M. Bannister. Kennicott, when only twenty-four years of age, headed a scientific expedition to British and Arctic America which greatly enriched the Smithsonian Institution and the Chicago Academy of Sciences. Six years later, in 1865, he set out in charge of a party, in which Bannister was included, to survey Alaska on

[3] Northwestern University.

behalf of the Western Union Telegraph Company. There, the following year, he died of heart disease. Bannister, who stayed with the expedition, later became a physician, and achieved a reputation in medicine as well as science.

Kennicott's journal covers his first Artic expedition (1859-1862); Bannister's the exploratory trip on which Kennicott met his death. Both are the work of scientists, but Kennicott's is an easy-flowing narrative which deserves to be read for its intrinsic interest no less than for its burden of fact. Kennicott's journal was published in the first volume of the *Transactions of the Chicago Academy of Sciences*, a very rare volume; Bannister's, recently discovered, is here printed for the first time.

In his introductory chapters Dean James credits these two young explorers with influencing the course of American history. When the purchase of Alaska was proposed in 1867, there was much opposition. To overcome it Senator Sumner and other advocates of the purchased relied heavily upon the information which Kennicott and Bannister had collected. Without their findings, Alaska might have been rejected as the "dreary waste of glaciers, icebergs, white bears and walruses" which most people believed it to be.

Recently, the Editor heard a man who had made a careful survey of American colleges name those which he considered outstanding in the liberal arts. High among them was Augustana. Soon afterward the Editor asked a friend who knew the college well the reason for its high rank. "Andreen," he answered without hesitation. "Andreen made Augustana."

Andreen of Augustana,[4] a small volume of tributes, is the college's memorial to its former president. It is not a formal biography, but the essential facts of Gustav Andreen's life are brought out in the various essays that make up the book. Born in 1864 of Swedish immigrant parents, young Andreen entered the Augustana preparatory school at the age of eleven. Six years later he graduated from the college. A decade of teaching—at Augustana and Bethany—followed, and then graduate work at Yale, where he received the doctorate in 1898. In 1901 he was appointed to the presidency of

[4] Augustana Book Concern, Rock Island, Ill. $1.00.

Augustana. There he remained for thirty-four years, working tirelessly and successfully for the contributions that were to give the institution an adequate physical plant, and at the same time holding it to the highest standards of scholarship.

The volume includes a fine account of Andreen's presidency by Conrad Bergendoff, his successor, and charming reminiscences by his daughter. In all the essays the dominating personality of the man stands out. Intentionally or not, the contributors have delineated a character—a man emotional as well as intellectual, abounding in energy but at the same time gentle, generous to a fault, proud of his Swedish heritage yet American to the core.

This is not the only memorial to Gustav Andreen, and doubtless the future will add others. None, however, will keep alive the memory of the real man as well as this little book.

At first glance, a volume entitled *The American Origin of the Augustana Synod, From Contemporary Lutheran Periodicals, 1851-1860*,[5] will probably attract only those Lutherans who are interested in the history of their communion. The book, however, deserves a wider audience. To be sure, the documents which make it up deal mainly with the origin of the religious organization which embraces most of the Swedish Lutherans in the United States, but since that organization grew out of the Illinois State University at Springfield, the secondary theme of the volume is higher education in Illinois. The conflict between foreign born and native Americans, exceptionally sharp in the Fifties, is the tertiary subject.

For the most part, the articles presented in *The American Origin of the Augustana Synod* have not been reprinted since their original periodical publication. They were selected and edited by O. Fritiof Ander and Oscar L. Nordstrom, of the Augustana College faculty. Professor George M. Stephenson, of the University of Minnesota, contributes an introduction. The book is Volume IX of the *Augustana Historical Society Publications Series*.

Henri de Tonti has been called "La Salle's loyal lieutenant" so many times that readers have come to think of him as without per-

[5] Augustana Historical Society, Rock Island, Ill.

sonality or achievement in his own right. Nothing could be further from the truth. He was La Salle's subordinate, to be sure, but such success as the latter enjoyed was due in large part to Tonti's ability to act on his own responsibility. In 1683 Tonti and La Salle parted, never to meet again, but for nearly twenty years Tonti not only remained in the Illinois Country, but was the mainstay of French influence there.

Tonti is the subject of a pamphlet entitled *Man with the Iron Hand and Heart*, by the Reverend Thomas A. Meehan, S.T.L.[6] It is a simple, straightforward biographical account, welcome not only because it is well told and well documented, but also because biographies of Tonti are few in number. This, though short, is first-rate, and marred only by an excess of typographical errors.

In December, 1942, the Department of State announced the publication of Volume X of the series, *The Territorial Papers of the United States*.[7] In this volume are presented official papers and correspondence concerning Michigan Territory between the years of 1805 and 1820. Volumes XI and XII, which are scheduled for publication in 1943, will complete the presentation of Michigan Territorial material.

The Department of State announces that a considerable portion of Volumes XIII, XIV, and XV, which relate to Louisiana-Missouri Territory and Illinois Territory, are already in type. The Department is to be commended for proceeding with the publication of this invaluable body of historical source material in spite of the war. The documents presented are direct revelations of democracy in action, and the cost of compilation and publication are infinitesimal in comparison with the total of federal expenditure.

On May 11, 1894, two thousand five hundred employees of the Pullman Company struck as the result of recent wage cuts. The strike soon developed into a general railroad strike, tying up railroads throughout the West. As tension grew, there was violence and

[6] 109 N. Dearborn St., Chicago.
[7] Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. $2.00 per volume.

destruction of property, federal troops were sent into Chicago and other seats of trouble, and the militia was called out in several states. The workers, however, were poorly organized, while the railroads worked in close harmony, not only with each other, but also with the Attorney-General of the United States. As a result, the strike was broken by the latter part of July.

At the time, the Pullman Strike brought into being a whole shelf of hotly controversial books, but not until the publication, on December 1, 1942, of *The Pullman Strike*, by Almont Lindsey,[8] was a detailed, documented, and reasonably dispassionate study available. Mr. Lindsey traces the history of the Pullman Company, the establishment of the "model town" of Pullman, the effect of the Panic of 1893 on Pullman employees and the history of the strike in all its ramifications. His book must be considered a major contribution to the economic and social history not only of Illinois, but of the United States as well.

Why a full-sized volume on an incident of industrial warfare which took place fifty years ago? Well, the Pullman Strike probably cost—in wages, lost profits, and damage to property and business—something in the neighborhood of $80,000,000. As a result of it, thousands of laborers were blacklisted, and the antagonism between labor and management was dangerously intensified. As Mr. Lindsey says: "The Pullman Strike was more than just an industrial clash; it was an upheaval that shook the nation to its very depths and led to extraordinary applications of old laws and the creation of highly effective anti-labor weapons."

Dr. George A. Zeller, superintendent of the Peoria State Hospital for many years, was not only an eminent psychiatrist and administrator; he also possessed a nice taste in literature, and frequently turned to composition himself. Twenty years ago he wrote "The Post-Mortem Finding," a story based on the life of one of the inmates of his institution. The little tale, of ingenious plot and fine craftsmanship, impressed many readers, and then slipped quietly into the great stream of good things forgotten. Last fall J. Christian Bay, librarian of the John Crerar Library, remembered it, and sug-

[8] University of Chicago Press. $3.75.

gested to the management of the Torch Press, of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, that it be put into print again. So once more *The Post-Mortem Finding*[9] is available, this time with an introduction by Mr. Bay which not only places the story in its proper setting, but also pays a well-deserved tribute to its author.

Lately a good many self-appointed guardians of the national welfare—the Editor among them—have deplored the fact that a considerable proportion of college students "complete their education," as the saying goes, without having studied American history. Compulsory immersion in the history of the United States has been recommended as the best remedy, and the Editor confesses that the prescription has seemed to him to be a proper one. Now he reverses himself. What is needed is not another law, not even a requirement, but more books like Lloyd Wendt and Herman Kogan's lusty story of Chicago's two immortal aldermen, Bathhouse John and Hinky Dink—*Lords of the Levee*.[10] Given a few books like this, the problem of the educators will not be where to find students, but where to find seats.

Of course the fantastic careers of John Coughlin and Michael Kenna were made to order for biographers. The Bathhouse—big, bluff, and dumb—and Hinky Dink—a shrewd little mite of a man who rarely spoke and more rarely smiled—joined forces in 1893, one year after the former's first election to the Chicago city council. For twenty years the two were absolute masters of Chicago's famous First Ward, the locus of its gambling houses and bordellos. With the first term of Big Bill Thompson, Big Jim Colosimo supplanted them as the real boss, but the two hung on in "mild prosperity" until the advent of prohibition in 1919. Al Capone, seizing power after Colosimo's murder, merely tolerated the two aldermen, but there was enough "small stuff" for them to make the game worth while until Coughlin's death in 1938.

By every standard of public morality, Bathhouse John and Hinky Dink were a pernicious influence. They were boodlers, working their aldermanic positions for all they were worth in money; they col-

[9] The Torch Press, Cedar Rapids. 400 copies.
[10] Bobbs-Merrill. $3.00.

lected tribute from the gamblers, the saloon keepers, and the vice interests; and they maintained their places by the most flagrant corruption of elections. But they were not all black. They were men of strong loyalties—to Carter Harrison the younger in his fight against Yerkes, for instance—and they were capable of lining up, at least occasionally, with the "better element." And both were men of their word. Among the multitude of sins charged to them, generally with justification, the double cross was never included.

Above all, they were characters, "the Bath" especially. His sartorial innovations, which included a full dress suit of "mountain green" with a bright red vest; his "poetry"—he was the author of "Dear Midnight of Love"—; and his malapropisms in council meetings will not be forgotten soon. Chicago without Coughlin and Kenna in the council may be a better governed city—the point is debatable—but this at least is certain: politics is far less colorful than it was when they proudly stepped at the head of the First Ward Democratic Marching Club.

The February, 1943, issue of the magazine *Antiques* should be on the shelves of every library with an Illinois history section. The issue is devoted to the Middle West, with the emphasis heavily on Illinois. Featured are articles on the Swedish colony at Bishop Hill, by Stratford Lee Morton; restored New Salem, by Natalia Maree Belting; pre-fire Chicago, by John Drury; and the frontier sketches of Missouri's famous artist, George Caleb Bingham, by James B. Musick. Many illustrations of prints and articles in Middle Western collections, including that of the Illinois State Historical Library, accompany the articles.

At the last annual dinner of the Illinois State Historical Society, held in Jacksonville, October 2, 1942, one of the speakers was Mr. Rodney H. Brandon, director of the Department of Public Welfare. Appropriately, Mr. Brandon spoke on the subject, "Dorothy Lynde Dix, Redemptress of the World's Insane." (The Illinois State Hospital for the Insane at Jacksonville was founded largely as a result of a visit which Dorothy Dix made to Illinois in 1846.) Mr. Brandon's

address was published in the November, 1942, issue of *The Welfare Bulletin*, the official publication of his department. Copies of this issue can be obtained from the Department of Public Welfare, Springfield, without charge as long as the supply lasts.

Facts on military establishments in Illinois are contained in fifteen publications which the Illinois State Historical Library is preserving for the use of historians and students of war history. Army, navy, and ordnance plants are represented in publications which are issued regularly.

In the list are: *The Air-Gram*, Army Air Force Storage Depot, Springfield; *The Bomb-Shell*, Elwood Ordnance Plant, Joliet; *Camp Grant Sentinel*, Rockford; *Chanute Field Wings*, Rantoul; *Quartermaster Depot Times*, Chicago; *The Detonator*, Kankakee Ordnance Works, Joliet; *Fort Sheridan Tower*, Fort Sheridan; *Great Lakes Bulletin*, Great Lakes; *The Green Riverite*, Dixon; *Arsenal Record*, Rock Island; *The Voice of Sangamon*, Illiopolis; *Scott Field Broadcaster*, Scott Field; *The Weekly Salute*, Savanna Ordnance Plant, Proving Ground; *Chicago Schools' Skylines*, Army Air Forces Technical Training School, Chicago; and *The Lincoln Log*, Lincoln Ordnance Depot, Springfield.

The *Rock Island Arsenal Record* is a civilian enterprise. Color is used on the cover of the magazine, and inside pages present many pictures which are attractively laid out with accompanying descriptive material. The Elwood and Kankakee plants, which are operated by Du Pont, issue illustrated magazines printed on book paper. Three publications are done with mimeograph. The remainder are printed on newsprint.

The *Great Lakes Bulletin* is the oldest in the library's collection of Global War service publications, and on January 1, 1943, began its eighteenth volume.

The *Fort Sheridan Tower* of November 13, 1942, gave three columns to a history of the establishment, written by Private Harold Levin.

A chronology of events in the development of the establishment near Illiopolis was carried in the *Sangamon Ordnance Plant News Letter* (later named *The Voice of Sangamon*), in December, 1942.

The Illinois Mobilizer, published by the Illinois State Council of National Defense, also is received by the library.

One of the most active patriotic organizations in the state is the Native Daughters of Illinois. Founded in 1926, the Society exists "to bring together women born in Illinois to promote the study of and to inspire unswerving loyalty to the Constitution of the State of Illinois, to foster and uphold the history and traditions of the State and to establish a meeting ground for lovers of Illinois." At each meeting of the Society, time is devoted to the study of Illinois history.

The Native Daughters of Illinois has a membership of slightly more than one hundred. Mrs. James W. Dansey, of Chicago, is president.

R. V. Carpenter, Belvidere, is the new president of the Boone County Historical Society. Other officers elected for the coming year are: Thomas J. Beckington, George Wheeler and Mrs. John Oberholser, vice-presidents; Mrs. Fred Marean, recording secretary; Frank Shattuck, assistant secretary; Miss Elsie King, corresponding secretary; Fred Warren, treasurer; and Fred C. Keeler, Arthur J. Tripp, E. B. Glass, C. Fred Lewis and Mrs. Alva McMaster, trustees.

Previous to the January meeting, members of the Society compiled a list of early business firms in Belvidere. An attempt was made to include all concerns which were in existence around 1900 and earlier. Photographs of many of these places of business were on display at the meeting.

Visitors from twenty-five states registered during 1942 at the Bureau County Historical Society Museum in Princeton. A total of 1,621 persons inspected the exhibits during the year.

A Thanksgiving dinner for members and guests of the Cahokia Historical Society was held at the home of Mrs. Chester Smith in East St. Louis on November 23, 1942. A panel discussion on social security was led by Miss Emma Asher, and a book review was

given by Mrs. R. J. Boylan. Music was furnished by the McManuss' sisters trio and by a quartet of Historical Society members directed by Miss Nora Walsh.

A collection of nearly one hundred drawings and paintings by Charles Dana Gibson was placed on display at the Chicago Historical Society on November 9, 1942. The pictures, starting with silhouettes cut by the artist before he was ten years old and including his famous "girls" series as well as some painted in 1942, were lent by Mr. and Mrs. Gibson and by Mr. and Mrs. John H. Emery of Cincinnati. To accompany this exhibit, a display of furniture and costumes of the period was assembled.

The Society commemorated the one hundred and seventh anniversary of the birth of Mark Twain on November 30, 1942, by placing on exhibition a collection of first editions of the works of the great humorist. Rare photographs and other memorabilia lent by Franklin J. Meine supplemented the exhibit.

A total of eighteen tons of iron scrap was offered to the Government by the Chicago Historical Society in November, 1942. This includes the four cannons at the east and west entrances of the building. The Society will receive certificates pledging four others to replace these at the close of the war.

The sixth annual dinner meeting of the Englewood Historical Association (Chicago) which was held on December 3, 1942, honored the young people of the Junior Historical Association. Six boys and girls of the Junior Association told what their organization had done during the past year in the interest of community improvement. These included: Harold Frazer, Mary Corpe, Corinne Stark, Marian Anderson, Mary Jane Letterst, and Anita Gabric. Principal speeches on the program were "Young America and Americanization," by Fred E. Busbey; "Good Citizenship and the Junior Historical Association," by William T. Murphy; and "The Value of the Junior Historical Association in Englewood," by the Reverend Howard A. Vernon. Plans and progress of the Southtown Planning Association were discussed by Raymond S. Blunt, secretary.

A special wartime program was arranged by members of the West Side Historical Society (Chicago) for their January meeting. The following subjects were discussed: "Memories of the Spanish-American War," by Harlo R. Grant; "The First World War—and This," by J. C. Miller; "Financing the War—and You," by T. H. Golightly; "Gas Attacks—What Would You Do?" by Otto Eisenschiml; and "Youth and the War," by members of the high school chapters of the West Side Historical Society.

A "Gay Nineties" costume ball was sponsored by the Historical Society of Woodlawn (Chicago) at the Hayes Hotel in Chicago on December 18, 1942. The affair was one of a series of community events which were held during December in celebration of the golden anniversary of the Hayes Hotel, a landmark on Chicago's South Side. Civic, business, and social leaders of Woodlawn, garbed in costumes of various periods in United States history, danced the Virginia reel, square dances, waltzes, and two-steps. Mrs. M. D. Miller, president of the Society, arranged the program which also included present-day dances.

The old Conkeytown covered bridge, which spans the Salt Fork of theVermilion River about fifteen miles southwest of Danville is reproduced on the 1943 calendar distributed by the Second National Bank of Danville. This old wooden bridge, erected soon after the close of the Civil War, is the only one of its type still standing in that part of Illinois.

The expedition of George Rogers Clark and the conquest of the Old Northwest was the subject discussed by E. L. Dukes at the November, 1942, meeting of the Edwards County Historical Society. At the December meeting Mrs. Edna Gubbins presented a paper on the early history of Old Vincennes. When the Society met again on January 4, Mrs. W. A. Wheeler presented a life sketch of Augustus C. French.

"The Story of Evanston" was told by James Taft Hatfield at the November, 1942, meeting of the Evanston Historical Society. Professor Hatfield's lecture was illustrated with slides. At the December meeting an account of the heroic rescue services of Evanston Coast Guard crews in lake disasters since 1879 was given by Commander Guy B. Skinner of the United States Coast Guard.

With the November, 1942, issue, the *Scribe Magazine*, official publication of the Evanston Historical Society, changed from a mimeographed four-paged folder to a printed pamphlet of eight pages. The November issue contained an article by Kenneth Allen, the editor, on college life in the old North-Western Female College, several short features, and a number of interesting illustrations.

The *Scribe* is published monthly from November through June by the junior members of the Evanston Historical Society. It is now in its fourth volume.

When members of the Glencoe Historical Society went to the log cabin home of Mr. and Mrs. Alfred N. Burnham in Hubbard Woods on October 18, 1942, each one took a piece of firewood to feed the old log fireplace. Mrs. Burnham related the history of this old log cabin to the group assembled around the fireplace. A social hour followed her talk.

"Illinois at War" was the subject discussed by Paul M. Angle, Springfield, at the January meeting of the Jersey County Historical Society in Jerseyville. Joseph R. Fulkerson, president, was in charge of the meeting, and Prentiss B. Cheney led the group in the singing of old songs. This Society, recently reorganized, has arranged for its permanent headquarters to be located on the third floor of the Chapman Building in Jerseyville. Volunteer workers are packing the exhibits which have been stored in the basement of the courthouse, preparatory to their removal to the new quarters in the Chapman Building. These articles were assembled by an earlier society some years ago.

A historical dictionary of Knox County is the long term project recently undertaken by the Western Chroniclers, Knox County's historical society. The reports on a wide variety of historical and community subjects which will be given at different meetings of the organization during the next five years will be typed and filed in loose-leaf binders to help make up this dictionary. Photographs and maps will be used to illustrate the material. The public is asked to co-operate in the project by furnishing old letters, diaries, maps, and other such documents which are often found in the attics of old homes.

Members of the Lee County Historical Society held their first meeting of the new year in Dixon on January 25. E. E. Wingert read a paper on "The Old Mills of Lee County."

Twenty-five cartographic slides were used to illustrate a talk on the history of Illinois which Paul M. Angle, Springfield, made to members of the Macon County Historical Society on December 10, 1942. Mrs. W. W. Doane, vice-president of the Society and chairman of the program committee, introduced the speaker.

Jacob L. Hasbrouck, a member of the McLean County Historical Society for forty-four years, has been named honorary president of the Society for life. Mr. Hasbrouck, the author of a history of McLean County and also of numerous other writings on the same subject, has been a vice-president of the Society for the last four years and a board member for ten years. He is editor emeritus of the *Daily Pantagraph*, Bloomington's newspaper.

Other officers elected by the McLean County organization at its meeting on January 28 include: Wayne C. Townley, president; Mrs. Kate Orendorff, first vice-president; Dr. D. D. Raber, second vice-president; Professor William Wallis, third vice-president; Fred Salkfeld, secretary; Louis L. Williams, treasurer; Mrs. Margaret Hoffman, librarian; and the Reverend Loyal M. Thompson, chap-

lain. Directors named were: William B. Brigham, Preston Ensign, Campbell Holton, Carl Vrooman, Lyman R. Tay, and Joe Esh.

The Madison County Historical Society Museum in the courthouse at Edwardsville will be open to the public every Wednesday of each week as the result of recent action by the board of supervisors. Miss Caroline Wolf of Edwardsville is custodian.

A program on magazine journalism was given at the November, 1942, meeting of the Morgan County Historical Society in Jacksonville. The historical background of nineteenth century magazine publications was given by Dr. Walter B. Hendrickson. Following this, three students from MacMurray College—Helen Lantis, Phoebe Wilkins, and Jo Ann Lyman—presented papers on the social and intellectual history to be found in magazines of the nineteenth century.

The annual dinner meeting of the Society was held on January 14. Dr. C. P. McClelland spoke on "The Education of Females in Early Illinois." Dr. McClelland's paper will be published in an early issue of the *Journal*.

Citizens of Murphysboro are considering ways and means of observing their city's centennial this year. The original townsite of twenty acres was donated in 1843 by Dr. John Logan, father of General John A. Logan.

The early days in southwestern Oak Park—known as the Lincoln district—were discussed at the October, 1942, meeting of the Oak Park Historical Society. Mrs. Frances Stokdyk Cheeseman, principal of the Lincoln School from 1907 to 1933, described the beginning of the school around which the community has grown. John Andrew McFarlane, a resident of the district for forty years, told some of his early impressions of the neighborhood. Various pictures of the early community were on display.

"Pike County's John Hay" was the subject discussed by James Monaghan, Springfield, at the December, 1942, meeting of the Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County. The meeting was held at the Society's building in Quincy. A dinner preceded the program.

Ninety years of Winnetka's modes of travel were reviewed at the November, 1942, meeting of the Winnetka Historical Society. The following speakers reviewed the transportation history of the village, each one describing a different decade, the first beginning with 1850: Mrs. Harry Barnum, Mrs. Carrie B. Prouty, Mrs. B. F. Langworthy, Barrett Conway, Sherman Orwig, Frank A. Windes, Eugene A. Rummler, Frederick Dickinson, and Lloyd Faxon. The speeches were recorded by a machine borrowed from the Skokie School. Movies of Winnetka's Grade Separating Project, recently completed, were shown by H. L. Woolhiser as the finale on the subject.

CONTRIBUTORS

For a number of years, George W. Bunn, Jr., president of the Springfield Marine Bank, has printed some of his own writings over the imprint, The Hobby Horse Press. *The Old Chatterton* is his latest production. It is reprinted here because the original edition consisted of only fifty copies, which fortunate owners are not likely to let out of their possession. . . . H. A. Musham, naval architect and research engineer in Chicago, is the author of an article on "The Great Chicago Fire, October 8-10, 1871," published in *Papers in Illinois History, 1940*. He is Chairman of the Fort Dearborn Memorial Commission, Chicago. . . . William U. Halbert, Belleville attorney, has long been interested in the history of St. Clair County. He has the distinction of being one of the most faithful members of the Illinois State Historical Society, having joined in 1908. . . . Mildred Eversole is Assistant Editor in the Illinois State Historical Library.

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ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND THE ILLINOIS CENTRAL RAILROAD, 1857-1860*

BY CHARLES LEROY BROWN

THE Illinois Central Railroad Company, chartered by the General Assembly of Illinois in 1851, had completed the building of its railroad on September 21, 1856. Its mileage of 705 miles made it the longest railroad in America at the time. By all standards it was the greatest corporation in Illinois. In 1857 a severe financial panic shook the business of the country. The Illinois Central's finances were in a peculiarly vulnerable state, and the panic forced it to suspend payment and to make an assignment of its property to trustees. In 1857, 1858, and 1859, the railroad corporation encountered a series of other extraordinary difficulties. It faced the imminent danger of foreclosure of the first mortgage on its property and the utter collapse of the ambitious project of its owners. The courageous men then in charge of the corporation threw their private resources into the enterprise in order to raise money to pay the interest on the large outstanding issue of bonds and to meet the considerable floating or short term indebtedness of the company. For a time it seemed impossible for the organization to weather the storm.

To add to the company's troubles an unfavorable interpretation and application of the company's charter was invoked by the State of Illinois. Under that inter-

* This paper was read before The Law Club of Chicago, in October, 1942.

pretation and on the company's own valuation of the property, the company would have been subjected to a liability to pay to the state for the year 1857 over $90,000 in state taxes in addition to the so-called seven per cent charter tax. A similar and perhaps mounting liability for each future year was apprehended. In 1857 it was contemplated that the controversy was to be so delayed as to make it involve that additional state tax for the years 1857, 1858, and 1859. Had the company been required to pay that additional tax for three years it would have involved a direct outlay of about $300,000 and a potential annual burden thereafter, the capitalized value of which amounted to millions. In view of its precarious and extended financial position it is highly doubtful whether the company could have raised the money for that direct outlay, and it is clear that the annual additional burden would have precluded the financing necessary for the corporation to survive.

Lincoln in 1857 had been acting for four years as an attorney for the company in various matters of consultation and in litigated cases, including the well-known McLean County case. After Lincoln had won the McLean County case for the company in 1856 he had brought suit to recover those fees. The relations between attorney and client were strained. Before the fee case was tried the company made an about face and engaged Lincoln to protect the interests of the corporation against the claims of the state with reference to the state taxes to be assessed under the charter. At the same time it settled the fee controversy by agreeing to pay the full amount asked by Lincoln.

The new work for which Lincoln was thus engaged in 1857 was of extreme delicacy. Lincoln proceeded

quietly on a program of strategy, maneuver and conciliation which involved, among other things, the enactment of an extraordinary statute. Then followed two important original actions tried in the Supreme Court of Illinois. In those cases the evidence of many witnesses was introduced before the Supreme Court sitting as a trier of facts. Lincoln won both cases. Those court proceedings escaped the attention of the newspapers of the time. In one of those two cases the Supreme Court rendered no opinion but entered a judgment of vital importance to the company. In the other the Supreme Court filed a long opinion highly favorable to the railroad. That opinion was rendered in March, 1860, at the January, 1860, term, but it was not published in the reports with other opinions rendered at the same term; it was not published until 1863.[1] And when published in the printed volume of the reports many pages of the opinion as it appears in the formal opinion record of the court were omitted.

The railroad company's property had cost $21,294,-851.42 in 1856, and the company had itself, in its 1857 tax return to the state, valued that property, after depreciation, at $19,711,559.59. By almost unbelievable skill lawyer Lincoln induced the Supreme Court, in the two original cases in that court, to reduce that valuation to $4,942,000. On that valuation the state tax amounted to less than the two per cent part of the so-called seven per cent charter tax and, for that reason, as will be explained, the company had no amount additional to the seven per cent to pay for the three years in controversy. The Lincoln victory in those two tax cases saved the day for the company and enabled it to

[1] 27 Ill. 64.

turn the corner and in a short time to become, and to remain for many years, one of the most prosperous railroads in America, and the one with the highest credit. The precedent thus set in Lincoln's cases has had an influence to the present day and has indirectly operated to the company's advantage to the extent of many millions of dollars.

Measured by money involved, this service was by far the most important of Lincoln's legal services. Measured by the obstacles to be surmounted, those services were remarkable. Lincoln's work in these cases reveals his innate capacity as a manager of affairs. The legal work was performed on the eve of his nomination and election to the presidency. Although many thousands of pages have been written about Lincoln as a lawyer, there is scarcely anything in print concerning the legal services I have outlined.

The Illinois Central project goes back to 1836 and 1837, the years in which the Illinois Legislature granted to a group headed by Darius D. Holbrook a charter incorporating the Cairo City & Canal Company, and in which it passed the Internal Improvement Bill. Those statutes provided for building a railroad from Cairo to Galena. The early projects failed. However, large sums of money were raised by the sale, chiefly in England, of bonds issued by the Cairo Company and by the State of Illinois. The stinging satire of *Martin Chuzzlewit* and the *American Notes* was the result of Charles Dickens' having invested his savings in the securities of the Cairo Company and of his trip to Illinois to examine his investment.[2]

[2] The story of the old high finance and reckless promoting, in connection with those Illinois projects and involving many celebrated names in England and America,

The passage of an act by Congress on September 20, 1850, is a landmark in American history. That act was the first of the many federal land grants in aid of the railroads. By its provisions, 2,595,000 acres of land adjacent to the proposed Illinois Central Railroad were given by the United States to the State of Illinois to enable the state to grant that land to a railroad corporation to be incorporated by the Illinois Legislature. The public man who had been most active in advocating a north and south railroad through Illinois, with connections to the Gulf of Mexico, had been Sidney Breese. He had been identified from the first with the Holbrook enterprise, having been Holbrook's chief counsel and lobbyist. After a short term on the Illinois Supreme Court, Breese served in the United States Senate from 1843 to 1849. During his whole senatorial term he actively endeavored to secure federal land aid for the Illinois Central project. All his efforts were unsuccessful. After Breese left the Senate Senator Stephen A. Douglas took charge of the measure, greatly altered its plan, and made it national in scope. He changed the project so as to provide for a branch line to Chicago to connect with the Great Lakes and the railroads which were then building toward Chicago from the East. Douglas by his matchless political skill secured powerful support for the measure, and its passage assured the consummation of the Illinois Central project.

Sidney Breese had become exceedingly hostile to Douglas. Breese burned with jealousy over the praise heaped on Douglas for his success. Breese was a member

is well told in Paul W. Gates's book in the *Harvard Economic Series*, entitled *The Illinois Central Railroad and Its Colonization Work* (Cambridge, Mass., 1934). That book does not discuss at all the charter tax of the Illinois Central. While the book's summarized treatment of the financial affairs of the company is inadequate and in some respects erroneous, the book is otherwise a notable contribution to Illinois history.

of the Legislature of 1851, and he was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives. He proclaimed himself the author of the Illinois Central project. He wrote to the *Illinois State Register*, of Springfield, a series of letters in which he sought the credit for the Illinois Central plan, and in which he reflected on the activities of Douglas. Douglas replied with devastating letters printed in the same newspaper. The Breese-Douglas correspondence of 1850 and 1851 was bitter in the extreme and it made impossible any friendly relations between Douglas and Breese in future times. As I shall later show, the following quotation from Breese's letter of February 6, 1851, throws light on some of the activities of Lincoln on behalf of the Illinois Central in 1859 and 1860 after Breese had again become a member of the Illinois Supreme Court:

> I claim to have first projected this great road in my letter of October, 1835, and in the judgment of impartial and disinterested men that claim will be allowed. I have said and written more in favor of it than any other. It has been the highest object of my ambition to accomplish it, and when my last resting-place shall be marked by the cold marble which gratitude or affection may erect, I desire for it no other inscription than this: that he who sleeps beneath it projected "the Central Railroad."[3]

The great value of an Illinois charter for the Illinois Central, by reason of the munificent land grant, was at once perceived by the financial interests of the nation. Between September, 1850, and January, 1851, when the Illinois General Assembly met, efforts were put forth by three groups to secure that charter. In the fall and winter and throughout the 1851 session of the General Assembly the struggle between the three forces was very actively maintained. The group that eventually secured

[3] William K. Ackerman, *Early Illinois Railroads (Fergus Historical Series*, no. 23, Chicago, 1884), 89. The whole Breese-Douglas correspondence is there set out.

the charter was made up of Boston and New York capitalists, men of great wealth, power, and influence. Rather late in the contest to acquire the charter the eastern group bought off the Holbrook group with a promise of a large block of Illinois Central stock and with an agreement to make Cairo improvements highly beneficial to the property of the Cairo group.[4] Thereafter, the Holbrook interests, including Breese, who had been elected Speaker of the House of Representatives, were friendly to the eastern group. The third group, the Julius Wadsworth interests, did not prove very strong.

In the legislative struggle the real management of the lobby for the Boston-New York group was in the hands of John Wentworth, William H. Bissell, Mason Brayman,[5] and an expert lobbyist named George W. Billings. Bissell[6] was then a Democratic member of Congress from Belleville; a few years later he became a Republican and as such was elected in 1856 as the first Republican Governor of Illinois. Bissell and Brayman were appointed the first attorneys for the Illinois Central Railroad. In the course of the legislative contest the eastern group put at the head of their movement Robert Rantoul, Jr., a famous Massachusetts reformer and lawyer. Lawyers remember him as one of the attorneys for the defendant Knapp in the White murder case in which

[4] Gates, *Illinois Central Railroad*, 56.

[5] Mason Brayman was a scholarly lawyer then living in Springfield; it was he who prepared the *Revised Statutes of 1845*, which are the basis of the present statute law of Illinois.

[6] Joseph Gillespie says that Bissell was one of the two best extemporaneous speakers in the United States. *Recollections of Early Illinois and her Noted Men* (*Fergus Hist. Ser.*, no. 13, Chicago, 1880), 31. Bissell gained a national reputation by a speech in Congress in which he denied a Mississippi regiment credit for the victory at Buena Vista. Offended by that speech, Jefferson Davis challenged Bissell to a duel. Bissell accepted the challenge and named as weapons muskets at ten paces. President Zachary Taylor, the father-in-law of Davis, stopped the duel. *Ibid.*, 30; *Dict. Amer. Biog.*, II:302.

Daniel Webster made his celebrated speech for the prosecution. At the very time of the Illinois legislative contest, Rantoul was elected by the Democrats as United States Senator from Massachusetts. Rantoul wrote to his son that the Illinois Central charter just obtained was worth five or six million dollars.[7]

All who have studied this subject believe that Lincoln took an active part in that legislative contest. But the evidence is in hopeless conflict as to which side he was on.[8] As is true of many other incidents in Lincoln's career before his election to the presidency, his activities were shrouded in a good deal of secrecy. My personal belief is that Lincoln was at first aligned with the Wadsworth group, and that after it ceased to be a factor he assisted the Michigan Central representatives in their contest with the Michigan Southern; that representation had some affiliations with the Rantoul-Bissell representation but it had certain objects of its own more or less adverse to Rantoul and Bissell. There is no doubt that Lincoln was in close touch with the situation and that he was intimately familiar with the inside facts.

The victory of the Boston and New York group was expensive. They spent $51,299 in obtaining the charter.[9] They were also forced to make a high bid to the State of Illinois. They had to agree to pay the state a percentage of the corporation's gross receipts. While the contest was acute they had been ready to offer as much as ten per cent. But Bissell and John Wentworth pointed out that such a payment would be unreasonable and ruinous. They finally did agree to pay the state annually

[7] Gates, *Illinois Central Railroad*, 61.

[8] John W. Starr, Jr., *Lincoln & the Railroads* (New York, 1927), 40-45; Gates, *Illinois Central Railroad*, 44-45; Ackerman, *History of the Illinois Central Railroad* (1900 ed.), 72.

[9] *Annual Report, Ill. Central R.R. Co., 1853* (New York, 1853), 9.

the charter tax, which is commonly though somewhat inaccurately described as consisting of seven per cent of the railroad's gross receipts. Usher F. Linder was the leader of the forces insisting on that high commutation.[10] It is my understanding that no other major railroad in the United States has ever bound itself to pay for a grant and tax commutation such a percentage of gross receipts. No other major railroad has paid any immediate compensation for lands granted to the corporation.[11] The state and local general property taxes of other major railroads in Illinois have rarely, if ever, amounted to as much as seven per cent of gross receipts. In the light of history the incorporators acted very injudiciously when they agreed to pay such a high percentage of gross receipts.

The so-called seven per cent charter tax is made up of two parts. Section 18 of the act of incorporation provides that the company, in consideration of the grants, privileges, and franchises, is to pay the state forever five per cent of the railroad's gross receipts. By Section 22 it is provided that in addition the company is to pay the state tax on all its property, with a limitation on the rate of that tax to 75 cents on the $100 of valuation; it is further enacted in a proviso to Section 22 that in case the five per cent and the state taxes to be paid by the corporation do not amount to seven per cent of the gross receipts, then the company shall pay into the state treasury the difference so as to make the whole amount paid equal to at least seven per cent of the gross receipts. The body of Section 22 also contains the following:

[10] Joseph Gillespie's Introduction to Usher F. Linder, *Reminiscences of the Early Bench and Bar of Illinois* (Chicago, 1879), 11.

[11] Howard G. Brownson, *History of the Illinois Central Railroad to 1870* (*Univ. of Ill. Studies in Social Sciences*, Vol. IV, nos. 3 and 4, Urbana, 1915), 158.

"The said corporation is hereby exempted from all taxation of every kind, except as herein provided for."[12] The Supreme Court of Illinois has held that the five per cent payment, as well as the alternative provision in Section 22, was intended as a commutation of all taxes on Illinois Central charter lines.[13]

The law question which arose in Lincoln's Illinois Central cases in 1859-1860 was whether, on a proper construction of the charter, the state could levy a tax on valuation amounting to a sum in excess of two per cent of the gross receipts. The state claimed that it could and the company contended that it could not.

During the construction of the railroad some of the counties on the line resented the provision in the charter exempting the railroad property from county taxation. McLean County and Champaign County threatened to levy county taxes on the railroad. Some of the county officers had talked to Lincoln about the question. At the

[12] *Private Laws, Ill., 1851*, pp. 71, 72. The statement in the text of the provisions of Section 22 is intended to state its effect for the purposes of the litigation being reviewed. In after years many difficult questions of interpretation of Section 22 have arisen. When this paper speaks of a "7 per cent charter tax" the purpose is merely to describe the combination of payments made by the company at the time of the litigation here under review. That combination was made up of the 5 per cent provided for in Section 18 and the state tax payment provided for in Section 22 which, when a state tax was being levied, had to be equal to 2 per cent. Since the general property tax for state purposes was done away with during the administration of Governor Horner the company's position is that, because the main provision of Section 22 is a requirement that the annual tax for state purposes shall be assessed by the Auditor upon the property of the company and because no annual tax for state purposes is now assessed against any other property owner in Illinois, no obligation is now imposed on the company by Section 22. By that view the only charter tax is the 5 per cent imposed by Section 18 plus a state tax when a state general property tax is levied, so that under present day conditions it may be inaccurate to say that the charter tax is 7 per cent of the gross receipts. The writer of this paper expresses no opinion for or against the propriety of that view. At the time under consideration in this paper and for about 75 years thereafter a general property tax for state purposes was imposed, and in those years the company always purported to pay 7 per cent of its gross receipts as its charter tax. All statements in this paper concerning the company's undertaking and obligation to pay an annual charter tax of 7 per cent of the gross receipts must be taken in the light of this explanatory limitation. And, of course, the charter tax provisions apply only to the gross receipts and proceeds from the original charter lines in Illinois, which are now only a small part of the Illinois Central system.

[13] *People* v. *I.C.R.R. Co.*, 273 Ill. 220, 229-35.

same time Brayman approached Lincoln with a view to engaging him in that controversy. Lincoln was eager to get into the litigation, on one side or the other, because, as he said in a well-known letter to one of the county officers:

> The question in its magnitude to the Co. on the one hand and the counties in which the Co. has land on the other is the largest law question that can now be got up in the State, and therefore in justice to myself, I can not afford, if I can help it, to miss a fee altogether.[14]

The counties failed to provide fees and Lincoln wrote Brayman that he was free to act for the company.[15] On October 7, 1853, Lincoln accepted from Mason Brayman the sum of $250, described in Lincoln's receipt as payment "in full for retainer in legal business of said company."[16] It is possible that before that time Lincoln had done some isolated pieces of law work for the corporation. Under that retainer Lincoln argued the McLean County case and also conducted many other company cases, for all of which he was paid from time to time.

The McLean County case is the best known of all Lincoln's law suits. In it Lincoln was associated with James F. Joy. Joy had known and worked with Lincoln in other matters since 1850.[17] Joy was a very able lawyer of Detroit. He probably had legal connections with the Illinois Central as early as 1852, and a little later he became the general counsel and the principal manager of the company's interests in Chicago. This continued through 1854. Joy was afterwards one of the most con-

[14] Gilbert A. Tracy, ed., *Uncollected Letters of Abraham Lincoln* (Boston, 1917), 47; William H. Townsend, *Lincoln The Litigant* (Boston, 1925), 23.

[15] *Ibid.*, 23-24.

[16] Brayman's copy of the receipt is in the Brayman MSS, in the Chicago Historical Society.

[17] *Dict. Amer. Biog.*, X:224.

spicuous railroad men in the United States, being president of several great railroad systems. It was Joy more than any other one person who influenced the Illinois Central's employment of Lincoln. In the McLean County case Lincoln and Joy filed a bill to enjoin McLean County from carrying out its threat to tax the property of the Illinois Central. The case was twice argued in the Supreme Court.[18] On February 9, 1856, that court decided the case in favor of the company. The court consisted of three members. The question argued by Lincoln was as to the validity of the tax provisions of Sections 18 and 22 of the charter under the then constitution of Illinois. The majority of the court decided the case on the point argued by Lincoln and held that those charter provisions did not contravene the constitutional provisions as to uniformity. The majority opinion of Chief Justice Scates is involved, confused and poorly written.[19] Nevertheless the decision has been followed in all subsequent decisions.

Many writers have treated this as Lincoln's greatest legal achievement. It has often been said that the decision saved the company untold million of dollars. Those who have carefully studied the matter, including many counsel for the corporation, believe otherwise. If Sections 18 and 22 had been held unconstitutional, the railroad company would have been relieved of the onerous burden of paying seven per cent of its gross receipts and would have been subjected to taxation on the same basis as that on which other railroads were taxed.

[18] The charter exempted the railroad from all taxation during the first six years. At the time McLean County was threatening to impose a tax the six years had not expired. Joy argued that that state of facts rendered illegal any county tax—a point sufficient in itself to win the particular case, as is disclosed in the separate opinion of Justice Skinner.

[19] *I.C.R.R. Co.* v. *County of McLean*, 17 Ill. 291.

It has been computed by representatives of the company that, if the decision had been against the company, the Illinois Central would have saved $34,000,000 down to the time when the state general property tax was abolished during the administration of Governor Horner. There is nothing to indicate that Lincoln was instructed not to make the contention which he did make and the sustaining of which, it is claimed, proved in the long run so expensive to his client. There is in existence an incomplete memorandum brief or outline in Lincoln's handwriting of his oral argument in the Supreme Court in the McLean County case. It evidences deep study of many cited American decisions and close analysis of the constitutional questions involved. Those notes show Lincoln's awareness of the advantage to the corporation of having the whole charter tax system held invalid. In that brief he says: "If the R. R. Co., are to pay county taxes, notwithstanding the exemption, are they still bound to pay the full tax to the State?"[20]

Everyone knows the story that at a time following the decision Lincoln tendered a bill to the company for his services, and that some officer of the company protested that the bill was excessive. The company's refusal to pay Lincoln's bill was some time in 1856, probably in December. In January, 1857, Lincoln sued the company in McLean County for $5,000. The case was tried before a jury in June, 1857. The company made no defense. Lincoln recovered a judgment of $4,800, an amount which was arrived at by giving credit on the bill of $5,000 for $200 of the $250 retainer he had been previously paid. The judgment was paid.

[20] Emanuel Hertz, *Abraham Lincoln, A New Portrait* (New York, 1931), II:677. The Hertz book confusingly joins to the fragment of the McLean County brief an argument in a wholly different case.

In 1857, $5,000 was a very large fee for a single case. In the Eighteen Fifties Rufus Choate was the foremost American lawyer; he died in 1859; his highest earnings in any one year were $22,000, but the largest fee Rufus Choate ever received in any one case was $2,500.[21] In 1859 the firm of Butler, Evarts & Southmayd was considered the leading law firm at the New York bar; its second member, William M. Evarts, was soon to become recognized as the leading lawyer of the United States. The net income of that whole firm for the year 1858 was $20,000.[22] In 1857 the annual salary of the Governor of Illinois was $1,500. The Illinois Supreme Court judges received $1,200 and the circuit judges $1,000 per year. Those salaries had been fixed by the Constitution of 1848. Until 1856 the compensation of United States senators and representatives was $8.00 per day, plus mileage; in 1856 they were given a salary of $3,000 per annum. In 1857 the members of the Illinois Legislature were paid $2.00 a day for the first forty-two days of attendance and $1.00 a day thereafter, plus mileage. The Lieutenant Governor and the Speaker of the House received $1.00 for each day's attendance in addition to the pay of a member of the Legislature. In those years the Auditor was paid $1,000 and the Secretary of State and the State Treasurer $800 per annum.[23]

Out of the incidents of the trial of the McLean County fee case a host of theories and conjectures and fictitious stories have been evolved. The truth is that long before the pretended trial of the fee case in June, 1857, the company had agreed to pay Lincoln his full fee and

[21] *Dict. Amer. Biog.*, IV:89.

[22] Edward S. Martin, *The Life of Joseph Hodges Choate* (New York, 1920), II:126.

[23] As to Illinois salaries, see Constitution of 1848; as to compensation of members of Congress, see U.S. statutes.

had engaged him to protect it against any adverse application of the charter provisions as to state taxes. This is established by various circumstances, some of which are not generally known.

In February, 1857, shortly after Lincoln had commenced the suit for his fee, Lincoln was asked to represent D. A. Morrison of Paris, Illinois, in an important case against the Illinois Central. On February 12, 1857, Lincoln wrote to Morrison's local lawyers, saying that he had been "in the regular retainer of the Co. for two or three years," but that he believed that they did not wish to retain him any longer. He further said that he was going to Chicago on February 21 and would then ascertain whether the company wished to discharge him, and that if they did, as Lincoln said he expected, he would attend to the Morrison business.[24] Lincoln was in Chicago for a week following February 21, 1857.[25] He then conferred with the Illinois Central officers. Instead of discharging him, the company re-engaged Lincoln and agreed to pay him the full fee he demanded in the McLean County case. Instead of taking Morrison's case, Lincoln defended it for the company and won it in the Supreme Court. That case was decided by the Supreme Court at the December, 1857, term. It established a very important question in the law of common carriers.[26]

But the primary purpose of the Illinois Central officers in making peace with Lincoln was to obtain his services in connection with anticipated difficulties with the State Auditor in the levying and assessment of the state tax under Section 22 of the charter. The five per

[24] Paul M. Angle, comp., *New Letters and Papers of Lincoln* (Boston, 1930), 165.
[25] Paul M. Angle, *Lincoln 1854-1861* (Springfield, Ill., 1933), 164-65.
[26] *I.C.R.R. Co.* v. *Morrison and Crabtree*, 19 Ill. 136.

cent charter tax of the company began to accrue on March 10, 1855, and the additional two per cent tax began to accrue on February 10, 1857. The first semi-annual installment of both taxes was payable for the six months period ending April 30, 1857. John M. Douglass, who was not related to Stephen A. Douglas, and who was a very able lawyer at Galena, had been employed by the company in 1856 as a lawyer in the Chicago office under Ebenezer Lane, who in 1855 had succeeded Joy as general counsel. John M. Douglass was afterwards president of the Illinois Central. A few days after April 30, 1857, Douglass took to Springfield the first semi-annual payment of the seven per cent charter tax, amounting to $56,196.82. Before that time the company had heard intimations that the Auditor might assess against the company a state tax which would require a large payment in addition to the seven per cent of gross receipts. It was to guard against that menace that the company kept Lincoln in its service.

The company's motives in dealing with Lincoln are clearly stated in a letter written on May 14, 1857, by Ebenezer Lane, at that time the chief officer of the Illinois Central in Illinois.[27] Throughout the years under consideration the principal office of the Illinois Central was in New York and the president performed his duties there. Lane's letter was to W. H. Osborn, the president, in New York. It was written just after John M. Douglass had returned from delivering the $56,000 in coin to

[27] Lane was a Harvard graduate who became eminent as an Ohio lawyer and served as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Ohio for a number of years. After resigning from the Supreme Court of Ohio he served for several years as president of Ohio railroads. In 1855 the Illinois Central made him its general counsel and chief executive officer in Illinois. William K. Ackerman, *Historical Sketch of the Illinois Central Railroad* (Chicago, 1890), 130n.; *Annual Report, Ill. Central, 1856*, p. 4; *National Cyclopedia of Biography*, IV:559-60.

the Auditor at Springfield. The date on which this letter was written—May 14, 1857—was a month before the trial of Lincoln's fee suit in McLean County. The letter shows that that fee suit was a mere formality.

OFFICE OF THE ILLINOIS CENTRAL RAILROAD COMPANY

CHICAGO,
May 14, 1857

W. H. Osborn, Esq.,
New York.

DEAR SIR:

Last evening I transmitted 12 deeds to N. W. Neal, prepared for register, and filled up for the several Stations of the Associated Lands. I omitted Favence, as from the best confirmation I could obtain, you have changed the station and reversed the necessity or the basis of the claim. If I have not been rightly instructed please advise me and it will be amended.

Douglass returned last evening, bringing a receipt for the money. Some difficulties were encountered in obtaining the coin, but all were surmounted.

We can now look back and in some degree estimate the narrow escape we have made (I hope and believe entirely) from burdens of the most serious character. While Lincoln was prosecuting his law-suit for fees, it was natural for him to expect a dismissal from the Company's service and being a politician aspiring to the Senate, to entertain plans of making an attack upon the company not only in a revengeful spirit, but as subservient to his future advancement. He had seen the obscurity of those sections of our charter relating to taxation, which, unexplained by the History of the Charter, seem to bear (even more naturally) such a construction as would impose on us any amount not exceeding 3/4/100 in addition to the five per cent. He kept this to himself, but before our settlement with him, the Auditor, a vain, self-sufficient but weak man, approached him with a view to retain him for the State for consultation. Lincoln answered he was not free from his engagement to us, but expected a discharge. He therefore gave him no detailed opinion, but expressed his sense of the great magnitude which the Auditor was bound to protect. This had no other effect probably than to raise still higher the Auditor's opinion of himself.

Meanwhile we settled with Lincoln and fortunately took him out of the field, or rather engaged him in our interests. This is the

more fortunate, as he proves to be not only the most prominent of his political party, but the acknowledged special adviser of the Bissell administration.

In this particular matter of the tax, the auditor asserts that he will consult Logan;[28] but the chances are that he will not do it and we have more reason to believe that no feeling exists, or plan has been formed adverse to us—that we should keep still—pay our next half yearly and as quietly as possible, and then float along by force of example as precedent.

Mr. Eller has not appeared yet.

Sincerely yours,

E. LANE.[29]

The "vain, self-sufficient but weak man" referred to in Lane's letter was Jesse K. Dubois, then State Auditor. Lane's characterization of Dubois is wholly incorrect. Dubois was an able and honorable man. He had been an influential member of the Legislature and had served with Lincoln. Lincoln regarded him as one of his closest friends. When the Republican Party was being organized in 1856 Lincoln took unusual pains to induce Dubois to join the new party movement. He succeeded. In that same year Lincoln procured for him the Republican nomination for Auditor. Dubois was elected in 1856 and re-elected in 1860. After 1856 Dubois lived in Springfield, where the Lincoln and Dubois families were socially intimate. Lincoln's partner, Herndon, was on the payroll of Dubois as a bank commissioner, and the salary Herndon drew for that service was the equal of the salary of a circuit judge.[30]

In July, 1857, after Lincoln had been engaged to pro-

[28] Stephen T. Logan, then generally regarded as the leader of the Springfield bar.

[29] A copy of this letter was given to the Abraham Lincoln Association by the Henry B. Joy Historical Research of Detroit, which received it from James F. Joy. It was first published, and then in part only, in Harry E. Pratt, *The Personal Finances of Abraham Lincoln* (Springfield, 1943), 53.

[30] *Laws, Ill., 1859*, Appendix, Report of State Auditor, xxix; *Public Laws, Ill., 1861*, Appendix, Report of State Auditor, 11; *Public Laws, Ill., 1863*, Appendix, Report of State Auditor, 13.

tect the company's interests in the state tax, he went to New York. There is no doubt that the only purpose of his trip was to confer with the company officers and directors in New York.[31]

Lincoln returned to Springfield and on August 12, 1857, received the company's payment of his $4,800 fee. The very next day Lane executed on behalf of the company and sent to Springfield the listing of the company's property. That listing was required by Section 22 of the charter to be filed with the State Auditor. The return for 1857 was the first the company had to file. It appears from Lane's letter that Lane believed Dubois would omit to extend the state tax against the value of the company's property and would be content to accept seven per cent of the gross earnings in full payment of the company's tax obligations to the state. However, the Auditor was not asleep. On the company's valuation of $19,711,559.59, disclosed in Lane's return, the Auditor on October 22, 1857, levied a state tax of 67 cents on the $100. The tax thus levied by Dubois amounted to $132,067.44. That amount was $94,440.23 in excess of the two per cent part of the charter tax which the

[31] In 1857, as in later years, the directors of the Illinois Central included some of the foremost business men of the United States. Among them were Jonathan Sturges, LeRoy M. Wiley, Franklin Haven, Frederick C. Gebhard, and Abram S. Hewitt, a son-in-law of Peter Cooper and afterwards mayor of New York. Lincoln's meeting them had good results for Lincoln in later years. The seeking out of Lincoln by Erastus Corning, president of the New York Central Railroad, on the morning after Lincoln's Cooper Union speech in New York in the early part of 1860, was not because of Corning's agreement with Lincoln's political views but because he had heard of Lincoln as a remarkably successful attorney for the Illinois Central. It is said that Corning then offered Lincoln the position of general counsel of the New York Central at a salary of $10,000 per year (Starr, *Lincoln & the Railroads*, 126-31). Whether Corning did or did not offer Lincoln the New York Central attorneyship, it is unquestioned that Corning in that interview spoke to Lincoln of his successes as counsel for the Illinois Central, and Corning must have learned about those successes from the New York and Boston directors of the Illinois Central with whom Corning was intimately acquainted. And the friendship of those grateful Illinois Central directors was probably one of the factors that in 1860 influenced so many prominent business men to attend the Cooper Union meeting and to welcome Lincoln on the New England tour which followed.

company paid for the year 1857, and which amounted to $37,627.21. Had Dubois' tax levy been enforced the company would have had to pay $94,440.23 for 1857 in addition to the seven per cent of gross receipts. When Dubois' thunderbolt broke upon the company officials it seemed that the corporation was facing certain ruin. A few weeks before the Panic of 1857 had burst in all its fury. Banks failed all over the country. All the New York banks suspended specie payments. All credits came to an end. Many of the principal financial concerns and a great number of railroad corporations collapsed.[32] On October 9, 1857, the Illinois Central had been forced to suspend payment and it assigned its property to three trustees.[33]

Lincoln and John M. Douglass seem to have devised the following program for the defense of the company's charter tax interests. First, delay in the disposition of the matter was to be sought. Lincoln was to try to induce Auditor Dubois to postpone litigation until 1859. Meanwhile taxes would accrue for the years 1857, 1858, and 1859. If the corporation's desperate plight continued, Lincoln relied on the public feeling in support of the enterprise to prevent such an outcome as would destroy that enterprise. If, on the other hand, the company's financial position improved, it might weather the storm even if the decision were adverse.

Next, the company's lawyers planned the enactment of an extraordinary statute, one which would transfer the function of valuing the property of the Illinois Central to some officials other than the Auditor. As even-

[32] John Bach McMasters, *A History of the People of the United States* (New York, 1926), VIII:291-302; James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States* (New York, 1900), III:45-56.

[33] Ackerman, *Illinois Central* (1890 ed.), 65-68.

tually developed, that statutory plan transferred the function of valuation to a body which, as then constituted, was favorably disposed toward the Illinois Central. That body was the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois. The statutory plan was to confer on the company a right to appeal to the Supreme Court from the State Auditor's valuation. The so-called appeal was not to give the company merely judicial review. The plan was to impose on the Supreme Court the duty of actually valuing, on evidence to be introduced in that court, the property of the company, without regard to any valuation that may have been made by the Auditor. That statute could not be presented and enacted until 1859.

Next, Lincoln hoped after the enactment of such a statute to test the question as to the 1859 valuation under the statutory procedure. Confident as he was that the Supreme Court would be favorably disposed, he hoped to get first a decision from the Supreme Court as to the 1859 valuation. He then planned by stages and by diplomacy to get the Auditor to agree that the valuations for 1857 and 1858 might be determined on the evidence as to the 1859 valuation. It is plain from what happened afterwards that Lincoln and John M. Douglass set out to strive for such a low valuation as would produce a tax less than the two per cent part of the seven per cent charter tax. If that could be done the court would have no occasion to decide the vexatious law question of construction of the charter, namely, whether under the charter the company could be required to pay more than seven per cent. Lincoln apparently did not set much store by that construction. The program as thus outlined was carried out in full with complete success for Lincoln's client.

For the six months period ending October 30, 1857, another semi-annual charter tax payment was due the state. With the utmost difficulty the officers of the company assembled the cash necessary to make that seven per cent payment, which then amounted to $86,449.02. John M. Douglass took the money to the capital in December, 1857. Lincoln was trying a case in Bloomington. Douglass joined Lincoln at Bloomington. It was a question whether Auditor Dubois would accept the $86,000 without the company's paying the additional $94,000 due to the state on Dubois' assessment. On December 21, 1857, Lincoln wrote Dubois the following letter from Bloomington:

DEAR DUBOIS:

J. M. Douglas, of the I.C.R.R. Co., is here and will carry this letter. He says they have a large sum (near $90,000) which they will pay into the treasury now, if they have an assurance that they shall not be sued before January 1859—otherwise not. I really wish you would consent to this. Douglas says they *can not* pay more, and I believe him.

I do not write this as a lawyer seeking an advantage for a client; but only as a friend, only urging you to do what I think I would do if I were in your situation. I mean this as private and confidential only, but I feel a good deal of anxiety about it.

Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.[34]

Douglass took the letter and the $86,000 to Dubois, and Dubois accepted the $86,000 and agreed to postpone suing on the $94,000 state tax. If Lincoln had not induced Dubois to extend the time for suing on the $94,000 tax it is probable that the company would have failed in its efforts to avert foreclosure. When the Panic of 1857 broke, the president, William H. Osborn, was

[34] John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln* (Gettysburg ed., New York, 1895), II:354.

in Europe attempting with his friend, Richard Cobden, the great English statesman and free trader, to tide over the company's financial embarrassment. Cobden was the chairman of the Illinois Central's English shareholders committee. By that time the control of the company had been acquired by the English shareholders. Cobden and the other English stockholders had been dissatisfied with the management. Cobden in 1855 had visited New York and Chicago. On that trip he had ridden over the lines in Illinois then completed. He studied the company books and had then become familiar with the mortgage and other debts and the tax obligations of the company. He invested almost $400,000 in its stock.[35] He had gone back to England to placate the English stockholders. In 1857 the English interests furnished some funds. But the great amount necessary to pay the interest on the mortgage and other loans and to pay off the short term indebtedness was raised by Osborn, on his return to the United States, on the credit of himself and his fellow directors. Their resources were strained to the utmost. Through 1858 and 1859 nearly all the company's revenues from the sale of lands dried up. To add to the railroad's troubles another crop failure took

[35] Ackerman, *Illinois Central* (1890 ed.), 67-68; Gates, *Illinois Central Railroad*, 81. In 1859 Cobden again came to New York and to Chicago to make a study of the Illinois Central. He traveled over all the company's lines. His close and extended investigation of all the company's affairs in 1859 necessarily disclosed the effort Lincoln and John M. Douglass were putting forth to avert the asserted tax liability. It is probable that he conferred with Lincoln and John M. Douglass. During the Civil War Cobden was one of the few leaders in England who were friendly to Lincoln and the North. Morley says that practically the whole of Cobden's means were invested in the stock of the Illinois Central. John Morley, *Life of Cobden* (London, 1883), 265, 442. It was but natural that Cobden was well disposed to the man who as a lawyer had helped to save his investment. By 1864, when the stock had regained its value, Cobden had sold all his shares except 441 (Gates, *Illinois Central Railroad*, 82n.). For an interesting account of the wartime correspondence of Cobden and his disciple John Bright with Charles Sumner, which was read at meetings of the Lincoln war cabinet, see George M. Trevelyan, *Life of John Bright* (London, 1913). See also Edward L. Pierce, *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner* (Boston, 1877).

place in Illinois. The company's earnings fell off sharply. The corporation difficulties multiplied.[36]

The company had to make another tax return in 1858. President Osborn placed upon the company's property in the 1858 return the market value of the company's outstanding stock, which was $7,650,000. By some form of persuasion Dubois was induced to take no immediate action on the 1858 return.

Eighteen hundred and fifty-eight was the year of the great Lincoln-Douglas senatorial contest. One phase of the campaign had a bearing on Lincoln's strategy in the tax litigation. There was a serious split in the Democratic Party in that year, occasioned by the course of Douglas in refusing to follow the southern and Buchanan leadership in the attempt to recognize the Kansas Lecompton Constitution. Senator Douglas denounced the brazen frauds of the slavery interests which brought about the adoption of that constitution. The southern and administration Democrats read him out of the party. Moreover, in the senatorial campaign, the Buchanan administration, in conjunction with many of Lincoln's friends, organized a third party state ticket to catch the Democrats who could not be induced to vote for Republicans. That factional Democratic element called itself the National Democratic Party, and supported Douglas' old enemy, Sidney Breese, for United States Senator.[37] Every postmaster and federal officer in Illinois who remained loyal to Douglas was at once stripped of

[36] Ackerman, *Illinois Central* (1890 ed.), 67-68.

[37] Theodore C. Pease, *The Story of Illinois* (Chicago, 1925), 237; George Fort Milton, *The Eve of Conflict* (Boston, 1934), 329, 345; E. E. Sparks, ed., *The Lincoln-Douglas Debates* (*Ill. Hist. Col.*, III, Springfield, 1908), 48, 515; Theodore C. Pease and James G. Randall, *The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning* (*Ill. Hist. Col.*, XX, Springfield, 1925), I:390n. In the debates Douglas several times spoke of Breese as the candidate of the Buchanan faction.

his office. All federal patronage was controlled in the interest of Breese and the Buchanan faction.[38] Under these circumstances the victory of Douglas was a remarkable achievement. As Lincoln's friend and biographer, Isaac N. Arnold, says:

> This canvass of Douglas, and his personal and immediate triumph, in being returned to the Senate, over the combined opposition of the Republican party, led by Lincoln and Trumbull, and the administration, with all its patronage, is, I think, the most brilliant personal triumph in American politics.[39]

It should be remembered that in 1858 Lincoln and Breese had been drawn closely together. They both had but one political object, the defeat of Stephen A. Douglas.

In speeches in the 1858 campaign, Stephen A. Douglas accused Lincoln of being employed by the Illinois Central at a salary of $5,000 to cheat the state out of what was due it for the charter tax.[40] On the other hand, Lincoln's friends charged that the Illinois Central influence was exercised in behalf of Douglas. Unwittingly the Illinois Central was in truth promoting the Republican cause. Between 1850 and 1860 the population of the counties of Illinois through which the Illinois Central ran, increased from 335,598 to 814,891.[41] Professor Gates, in his book, establishes that the thousands of new settlers brought into Illinois towns and to the new farms sold by the Illinois Central from its land grant, were largely from New England and the northern

[38] The story of the Buchanan administration's efforts to defeat Douglas is brilliantly told in Milton, *The Eve of Conflict*, 294-352.

[39] Isaac N. Arnold, *Reminiscences of the Illinois Bar Forty Years Ago* (*Fergus Hist. Ser.*, no. 14, Chicago, 1880), 152.

[40] See newspaper excerpts reproduced in Sparks, ed., *Lincoln-Douglas Debates*, 83, 553.

[41] Theodore C. Pease, *Story of Illinois*, 198.

states of the East and from Germany and the Scandinavian countries, and that the majority of them joined the Republican Party. Gates says that it is clear that the activities of the Illinois Central in colonizing its land grant were an important factor in changing the political situation in the state and bringing about the Republican victory in 1860.[42]

In 1857 the Illinois Central had hired an army officer, George B. McClellan, as its chief engineer, and in 1858 made him vice-president with a rank above Lane. McClellan personally supported Stephen A. Douglas. So did many other company officers. Notwithstanding the fact that in 1858 Lincoln was the attorney for the company, many of Lincoln's friends, including Dubois, became bitterly resentful against the Illinois Central. Dubois had promised Lincoln and John M. Douglass to wait until 1859 to commence his suit for the 1857 $132,000 state tax. On November 3, 1858, the day after election day, Auditor Dubois instituted in the Supreme Court an original action of debt to recover that tax. He employed as his attorneys two of the ablest lawyers in the state, Stephen T. Logan and Milton Hay. Dubois wrote a report to be submitted to the Legislature in which he vigorously set forth the tax claim of the state against the Illinois Central. In serious and earnest language he pointed out that "nothing could be more dangerous and suicidal to the future interests of the people of the State, under suggestions however specious that may now appear, for the state to surrender to this or any other corporation, the great constitutional privilege of taxing its property according to its value."[43] In the

[42] Gates, *Illinois Central Railroad*, 240-53.
[43] *Private Laws, Ill., 1859*, Appendix, pp. xxii, xxiii.

Supreme Court action of debt on the 1857 taxes Lincoln had the time for the company to file its pleas extended to January 17, 1859. Everything possible was done by the defendant to delay the immediate disposition of the case. On January 31, 1859, the debt case was continued to the next term, which meant a further delay of one whole year.

Lincoln and John M. Douglass prepared their statute providing a method for valuing the property of the Illinois Central.

Early in the 1859 session of the Legislature the Illinois Central bill was introduced. It was introduced by Senator Cyrus W. Vanderen, a Republican senator from Sangamon County and a close friend of Lincoln's. A bitter and intense contest over the form and provisions of the bill followed in the Legislature. Whitney, who was then a downstate attorney of the Illinois Central, says that the Illinois Central lawyers were gathered in Springfield under the leadership of George B. McClellan to support the company legislative measure against what Whitney calls the Auditor's unjust tax ruling.[44] McClellan in his autobiography says that while he was vice-president of the Illinois Central he knew Lincoln well as one of the counsel for the company. He says that more than once he had sat up all night with Lincoln, listening to the unceasing flow of anecdotes from his lips.[45] Thus it appears that in the legislative contest there were thrown together in close and delicate relations the future President of the United States and the future commander of his armies. The Senate and House journals and the newspaper accounts disclose that the

[44] Henry C. Whitney, *Life on the Circuit with Lincoln* (Boston, 1892), 314.
[45] George B. McClellan, *McClellan's Own Story* (New York, 1887), 162.

company bill was largely supported by Democrats, but at the critical juncture several of Lincoln's principal Republican friends in the Legislature saved the bill from adverse amendment and defeat. The act as passed followed the plan, as I have stated in the foregoing, of transferring to the Supreme Court the function of valuing the company's property. The gist of the act was expressed in its Section 5, providing that upon the company's appeal from the Auditor's decision as to value "it shall be the duty of said supreme court, at the term next succeeding the taking of such appeal, upon such evidence as may be presented by the state and said company, to hear and determine the aggregate value of the stock, property and assets owned by said company."[46] The statute is still in force. Its plan is unique. That plan of having the Supreme Court act as the real assessor has never been applied to any other property owner in Illinois. The jurisdiction conferred upon the Supreme Court by the bill was not appellate; it was strictly original.

The company regarded the Auditor as hostile and prejudiced. On the other hand, the makeup of the Supreme Court as then constituted assured a fair and considerate hearing to the company. Think who were the members of the court at that time. They were then three in number.

One of them was Sidney Breese. He was a great figure in Illinois history. But, as I have shown, his life ambition was to be identified with the success of the Illinois Central Railroad. I have quoted his letter of 1851 as to what he wanted inscribed on his gravestone. When Judge Breese died in 1878 he was buried at Carlyle. I requested Judge June Smith of nearby Centralia to get me a

[46] *Illinois Laws, 1859*, p. 206.

copy of what was actually inscribed on Breese's gravestone. Judge Smith wrote me that the language on Judge Breese's gravestone reads: "He who sleeps beneath this stone projected the Illinois Central Railroad." Furthermore, the ties between Breese and Lincoln were very close. They had been in the struggle over who should get the Illinois Central charter in 1851. And in the furious senatorial fight of 1858 Breese had been closely aligned with Lincoln in the opposition to Stephen A. Douglas. All his life Breese had had a special interest in railroads. The *Dictionary of American Biography* comments on the fact that Breese saw no inconsistency in being a director of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad at the same time that he was serving as a judge of the Supreme Court.[47]

The senior member of the court at that time was Chief Justice John D. Caton. Judge Caton was a rugged and highly respected jurist. He was one of the first two or three lawyers to settle in Chicago. Few men have started life in greater poverty. Yet he became a very rich man. There was never the slightest tinge of scandal as to the way he accumulated his wealth. But his way was peculiar, one which would not be approved in this generation. Caton in 1852 undertook a reorganization of the seriously involved affairs of the Illinois & Mississippi Telegraph Company, and by diligence, patience, and financial skill subsequently acquired a complete control of the corporation. For many years, while he was serving as a judge of the Supreme Court, he was the president and managed the business of the Illinois & Mississippi Telegraph Company.[48] All this was done in the perfect open. Such was the kindly feeling of the

[47] III:16.

[48] Robert Fergus, *Biographical Sketch of John Dean Caton* (*Fergus Hist. Ser.*, no. 21, Chicago, 1882), 9-10.

time toward great improvements that no public objection was ever voiced to Judge Caton's dual role of justice of the Supreme Court and president of the leading telegraph company of the state. Judge Caton was a prodigious worker. He duly turned out his share of the heavy work of a judge of the Supreme Court and at the same time he actively managed all the affairs of his great corporation. He made it a profitable enterprise. He resigned from the Supreme Court in 1864 and in 1867 he transferred the telegraph company to the Western Union Company for what was then considered a fabulous fortune. One of Caton's reorganization measures was to run his telegraph lines along the rights of way of railroads instead of on the public highways. The Illinois Central was much the longest railroad in the state. There is not the slightest reason to believe that Judge Caton had any feeling other than of friendship for railroad companies.

The third judge of the Supreme Court was Pinkney H. Walker. Breese, Caton and Walker were all nominally Democrats. Until 1858 Walker had been a circuit judge in the west central part of the state. In that year a vacancy in the Supreme Court arose by reason of the resignation of Justice Skinner. The vacancy was to be filled by the Governor's appointment. Republican Governor Bissell appointed Democrat Pinkney Walker to the vacancy and in the following election Walker was elected without contest. It is not probable that Governor Bissell, who had been for years the leading solicitor of the Illinois Central in Illinois, would go out of his way to appoint to the Supreme Court a Democrat who was hostile to the Illinois Central. Lincoln, then clearly the party leader, was the chief adviser of Governor Bissell.

Among the much-talked-of Robert Lincoln papers now sealed up in the Library of Congress and not open to public inspection, is a veto message of Governor Bissell on a controversial measure. The original of that veto measure is in the handwriting of Abraham Lincoln.

At the time of the enactment of the 1859 statute the Illinois Supreme Court had decided ten Illinois Central cases; the company had been successful in nine of those ten cases; the single case it lost was one of little consequence.

I do not want to create an impression that the Supreme Court was a packed tribunal. The three judges, Breese, Caton and Walker, were able and good men, judges of high rank. They were independent and uncontrolled. Indeed, it was Breese who a few years later wrote the opinion in *Munn* v. *Illinois;* that decision and the affirmance of it by the Supreme Court of the United States are generally regarded as the heaviest blows ever delivered by American courts against public service corporations. All I am bringing out is that those three Illinois judges in 1859 and 1860 were so situated and so disposed as to be free and able to accord to Lincoln's corporation client complete justice in the light of the public policy of the time.

In 1859, George B. McClellan, then the vice-president of the company, filed the 1859 return with the Auditor. His valuation was progressively lower. His return valued all the company's property at $4,942,000. He arrived at that valuation by treating all the property, including everything, as worth but $7,000 per mile. Of course, the real purpose was to make the amount of a state tax less than the two per cent part of the charter tax. That return was filed on March 29, 1859. Auditor

Dubois determined that he had to revalue the railroad. Arrangements were made for a private car trip over the entire system. The primary purpose was to make Auditor Dubois familiar with the property of the company. Dubois and Secretary of State O. M. Hatch, John Moore, the state trustee of the property of the Illinois Central under its mortgage of lands, Stephen T. Logan, the principal attorney for the Auditor, and State Treasurer William Butler, together with Abraham Lincoln, started on this private car journey over the Illinois Central on July 14. The trip lasted nine days. Lincoln, Logan, and Dubois took their families.[49] They stopped in Chicago on July 20 and had a pleasant time.[50] Starr, in his book, tells the story of the great impression Lincoln made when he came to Dubuque in the special train with the private car attached and when Lincoln appeared in Dubuque as the chief representative of the Illinois Central Railroad.[51] However, the junket did not enable the company to persuade Uncle Jesse Dubois that McClellan's valuation was correct. After due deliberation and conference with Stephen T. Logan, Uncle Jesse Dubois on October 10, 1859, disapproved the company's list and valuation, and the Auditor revalued all the company's property and equipment in detail, placing upon it an aggregate valuation of $13,000,000.

Under the Act of 1859, Lincoln, for the railroad company, took an appeal to the Supreme Court from that valuation. At that time the Supreme Court sat in three grand divisions; the northern division held its sessions at Ottawa, the central at Springfield, and the southern at Mt. Vernon. Although the original debt action for

[49] Paul M. Angle, *Lincoln 1854-1861*, 289-90.
[50] Pease and Randall, eds., *Diary of Browning*, I:370.
[51] *Lincoln & the Railroads*, 67-68.

the 1857 tax was pending in the Supreme Court in the central grand division at Springfield, the Lincoln appeal under the 1859 statute was taken to the southern grand division at Mt. Vernon. The term of the court at Mt. Vernon was "the term next succeeding the taking of such appeal," which, by the Act of 1859, was the term at which the Supreme Court was required to determine the value of the company's property. Everything in this connection was done very quietly.

The appeal case was tried at Mt. Vernon on November 18 and 19, 1859. Lincoln came to Mt. Vernon by stagecoach from Ashley. He was accompanied by George B. McClellan and some of the witnesses. None of the Mt. Vernon townspeople noticed any of the party of visitors except a Mt. Vernon family who rode over with them in the stagecoach from Ashley.[52]

The company called ten witnesses. There is no known transcript of their evidence. The ten witnesses testified orally. I have seen a minute book in the handwriting of Judge Breese containing his notes of the testimony of the ten witnesses for the company. That minute book

[52] No files of Mt. Vernon newspapers of the time are preserved. Careful inquiries at Mt. Vernon at first failed to elicit any local knowledge or tradition by old residents of any visit by Lincoln to Mt. Vernon except on an occasion in 1840. However, continued inquiry brought to light the story of Dr. J. H. Watson, a member of a prominent Mt. Vernon family. Dr. Watson died in 1930 at the age of eighty-three. He had repeatedly narrated to his friends an outstanding incident of his boyhood. That incident was a ride on a stagecoach from Ashley to Mt. Vernon in company with Lincoln and McClellan; at that time Watson was twelve years of age. Dr. Watson told how when he and his parents got on the stagecoach it was crowded with passengers, and said that he sat on Lincoln's lap during the stagecoach journey of sixteen miles. Ashley is the point on the Illinois Central line nearest to Mt. Vernon. In 1859 there was no railroad connection between the two towns. When Dr. Watson died the incident was incorporated in an obituary of him published in the *Mt. Vernon Register-News*, Aug. 6, 1930. The newspaper account states that in the evening after the Watson boy arrived in Mt. Vernon he went to the hotel hoping to hear Lincoln continue the telling of amusing stories such as he had related on the stagecoach journey, but that he was disappointed as Lincoln and McClelland were in conference in the hotel. They were probably conferring with the witnesses whose testimony was to be taken on the following day. Apparently the presence of Lincoln's party of prominent railroad men, and the fact of their attendance at a trial in the Supreme Court, were not known to the townspeople generally.

was in the vaults of the Supreme Court of Illinois in 1914 when I examined it. It has now disappeared. Its disappearance, however, does not deprive us of knowledge of the testimony of the state's ten witnesses. In the records of the Supreme Court there is an abridgment of their testimony. No opinion was filed in the appeal case. But in the debt action Judge Breese wrote a long opinion, part of which is reported in 27 Ill. 64. As printed there, it omits a number of pages of the opinion contained in the official opinion record of the court. The omitted pages consist of Judge Breese's statement of the testimony of the witnesses testifying on the appeal as to the value of the company's property. In 1914 I compared Judge Breese's notes with his statement in the official record of the opinion, and the notes and his statements in the opinion were substantially the same.

The witnesses who testified for the company included many of the outstanding railroad men of the state. They were John B. Turner, then president of the Galena & Union Railroad Company, the original corporation of the present Chicago & Northwestern Railroad, Colonel Roswell B. Mason, the engineer who constructed the Illinois Central Railroad, S. H. Clarke, William D. Griswold, president of the Terre Haute & Alton Railroad, Mr. Hall, superintendent of the Galena Railroad, Lucian Tilton, president of the Great Western Railroad (now part of the Wabash System), Timothy B. Blackstone, afterwards president of the Chicago & Alton and the owner of the well-known home on the site of the present Blackstone Hotel, J. M. Douglass, the attorney of the Illinois Central, Smith, the auditor of the Chicago & Burlington Railroad, Bradley, the auditor of the Chicago & Rock Island Railroad. Tilton was the

man who afterwards rented Lincoln's home in Springfield when Lincoln left Springfield to become President.

Most of the company witnesses testified to an intimate familiarity with the property of the Illinois Central Company. Their testimony was really very superficial. Boiled down it amounted to little more than opinions that the property was not worth even as much as the amount of McClellan's return. They testified that railroad prospects in Illinois were not favorable, and that returns on railroad investments were poor. Nevertheless the testimony was catchy and plausible. Lincoln had spent several days in Chicago the week before. The testimony evidences careful preparation. Blackstone thought that the way to get the most out of the railroad was to take it up and sell the material. Griswold said a man who built a railroad lost two-thirds of his money. Testimony was given that some other railway lines in Illinois were assessed on a low basis. J. M. Douglass testified that it was impossible to say how many times the railroad must be rebuilt before the settlement of the country would make it profitable.

The only witness called by the state was T. J. Carter, who had been a superintendent of the Great Western Railroad. Auditor Dubois had been under a misapprehension as to the date of the trial and accordingly the other witnesses he had subpoenaed for a later date did not appear. Carter, the only witness the state called, made a very poor showing for the state.[53]

[53] The files of the appeal case remaining in the Supreme Court contain several letters from Dubois and also show the returns on several subpoenas taken out by Dubois. Those letters and subpoenas disclose that Dubois was under the impression that the case was set for trial on November 23 instead of on November 18. When the case was called on November 18 it is possible that the state's lawyers were not present. The Breese notes of the testimony of the company's witnesses do not recite any cross examination of them although those notes do show that the company cross examined the state's witness. It may be that the Supreme Court insisted on proceeding with the case notwithstanding the fact that no representative of the state was present. In any

The appeal case was immediately argued by counsel at Mt. Vernon. The court entered its order on November 21, 1859, two days after the conclusion of the trial at Mt. Vernon. The order found the value of the railroad for 1859 to be $4,942,000, the exact amount set up in McClellan's return for 1859. There is a misprint in the report in 27 Ill. in that the amount is given as $4,952,000.

On that valuation the state tax at 67 cents on the $100 amounted to slightly less than the two per cent of the gross receipts; the two per cent had been paid by the company to the state as part of the seven per cent charter tax. Consequently, on the extremely low valuation fixed by the court there was no additional amount for the company to pay as the 1859 state tax.

The decision at Mt. Vernon on the 1859 appeal was an important victory for the company. But that decision was not controlling in the original debt action for the 1857 state tax then pending in the Springfield grand division. In that case the Auditor was suing in debt for the 1857 tax of $132,067.44 which the Auditor had assessed on the company's own valuation for 1857. On January 31, 1859, it had been agreed that on the trial of the debt case the Supreme Court might receive evidence from both the parties or either of them as to the true value of the property of the company and might, if the court should be of opinion that the true value at the time of listing was the true legal basis for the assessment, modify the assessment so as to conform to such basis,

event, the state's representatives arrived before the close of the hearing, because they introduced the testimony of one witness. If the state was not represented at the commencement of the hearing a telegram may have been sent them. If that were the fact the state's representatives had time to procure the attendance of only one witness, Carter, who lived at Springfield, and to make the hurried and roundabout journey by rail and stagecoach from Springfield to Mt. Vernon; they would have been able to arrive on the second day of the hearing. There is nothing to indicate that the company or its lawyers were responsible for the oversight of Dubois and his counsel.

provided that the aggregate value of the company's property should not be reduced below $13,000,000. It seems that Uncle Jesse Dubois had haggled about that stipulation. He insisted on incorporating in it a provision that the court could not in any event value the property of the company for 1857 at less than $13,000,000.

At the date of that agreement on January 31, 1859, the bill—already discussed—providing for an appeal from the Auditor to the Supreme Court was pending in the Legislature. On February 18, 1859, while the bill was still pending, the attorneys for the railroad had obtained a further stipulation from the Auditor's counsel. By it the representatives of the Auditor agreed that if the bill should pass they would take off the bottom limit of $13,000,000 so that the court, on the evidence, could value the property at any amount less than that sum. The obtaining of such a stipulation was a remarkable piece of diplomacy. It is inferable that Dubois' side was forced into that agreement to escape threatened legislative action further limiting the powers of the State Auditor. It was later agreed between the parties that in deciding the debt case the court should consider the evidence which had been introduced at Mt. Vernon in the appeal case.

The 1857 debt case came on for argument in the Supreme Court on January 12, 1860. The company's lawyers were confronted in that case by three serious obstacles to their effort to obtain a lower valuation by the Supreme Court than that which had been placed upon its property by the company itself.

First. It is a well-settled rule of law in Illinois and elsewhere that, when a taxpayer is required to list his

property for taxation and to place upon that property a valuation, the taxpayer is absolutely bound by his own return.[54] This has always been the law in nearly all jurisdictions. In Lincoln's case the application of that principle would have been ruinous because his client had definitely returned the property as worth over $19,000,000. The only way the corporation client of Lincoln could escape that fundamental principle was by availing of the stipulation which Lincoln induced the Auditor and his eminent counsel to enter into on February 18, 1859.

Second. A few years after 1860 the proper method of valuing the property of corporations was settled in Illinois in a well-known series of cases.[55] The same question was later presented to the Supreme Court of the United States. The Supreme Court of the United States held that by that Illinois method one ascertains the true value of a railroad.[56] The logic and common sense of that method were as applicable in 1860 as afterwards. By that process the total value of the property of a corporation is found to be the sum of the market value of its bonds and other indebtedness and of the market value of its capital stock. In 1857 the market value of the company's bonds, short term debt, and stock at the time of the return was much more than $20,000,000.

Third. In 1857 at the time of the return, which was some months before the Panic of 1857, the company was doing a prosperous business. It had good net earnings. In 1856, the year of the completion of the railroad, its net earnings from transportation alone were over

[54] See *People* v. *I.C.R.R. Co.*, 273 Ill. 221, 258-61.

[55] See *Porter et al* v. *R., R.I. & St. L. R.R. Co.*, 76 Ill. 561, 572, the earliest of the series.

[56] State Railroad Tax cases, 92 U.S. 575, 604-605.

$1,000,000. At the end of 1857, the panic year, the net earnings were cut in two. But the company had another great source of income. By 1857 it had sold 865,211 acres of the land grant, for which it had received in cash and notes, but mostly in secured notes, $10,713,228.41. In 1855, 1856, and 1857 the company had paid dividends or interest of seven per cent on its capital stock.[57]

The task of the railroad's lawyers was to prevent the court from thinking about and being governed by the three foregoing classes of considerations.

On the other hand, there were some factors working to the advantage of Lincoln's client. Every public-spirited man at that time realized that railroads were essential to the promotion of the interests of the state. The judges desired to do nothing which would jeopardize the greatest railroad corporation in the state. They necessarily knew the desperate plight of the Illinois Central Company. They were bound to know that an enforcement of Dubois' assessments was calculated to ruin that company. Although at that time the statutes required property to be assessed at its full value, the historical fact is that property of others was valued for taxation purposes at far less than full value. The constitution required uniformity as between taxpayers. The company had skilfully introduced the evidence of what the property of other railroad companies was valued at. There was every reason to give the Illinois Central the benefit of a valuation which would place it on a parity with other railroads in the state so far as the state tax was concerned. Indeed, there was stronger reason. No other railroad company was obligated to

[57] See Exhibit 38 introduced in evidence by company in 1915 in *People* v. *I.C.R.R. Co.*, no. 9412, Illinois Supreme Court, Abstract, 338.

pay a tax like the Illinois Central's seven per cent charter tax. The judges well knew that the company had been in 1851 maneuvered into an agreement to pay much more than it should have undertaken to contribute annually to the state's revenues. They knew that in the highest sense justice was against overtaxing a financially distressed corporation operating a railroad that meant so much for the development of Illinois.

The considerations I have mentioned, while not strictly legal, were considerations of the highest moment to the welfare of the people of the state. Lincoln and John M. Douglass invoked considerations of public policy, and they endeavored to get the court to apply principles of statecraft and ultimate justice. They prevailed.

After the final argument on January 12, 1860, the court decided the debt case as it had the appeal case and, notwithstanding the 1857 return of the taxpayer, the court valued the property for 1857 on the same basis as that adopted for 1859, $4,942,000. On that low valuation the company had no state tax to pay in addition to the seven per cent of gross receipts. The opinion of Judge Breese (27 Ill. 64) emphasized the element of present income, rather than prospective income or cost, as determinative of valuation for taxation. In view of the conclusion reached on the facts, the court said that it was unnecessary to pass upon the law question as to the construction of the charter tax provision.

The decisions rescued the company from foreclosure and financial collapse. Had the Illinois Central failed in 1860, it would have been disastrous to the state of Illinois. No reorganized corporation would have agreed to pay the so-called seven per cent charter tax. From

that source Illinois has received since 1860 much more than $100,000,000. And the company has likewise benefited from the decision. The decision obtained by Lincoln has been held in such high regard that from 1860 to 1942, a period of more than eighty years, the corporation has never been required to pay any state tax in excess of seven per cent of its gross receipts.

From the records of the Supreme Court it is impossible to determine just when the opinion was rendered. In the annual report of the corporation of March 22, 1860, it is said: "Two important suits in the Supreme Court have been decided in favor of the company during the last year, leaving no pending litigation of importance."[58] We therefore know that the opinion was filed before March 22, 1860. Lincoln was nominated for President in May, 1860, and was elected in November, 1860. So far as can be found by the experts in Lincoln research, no reference was made in any newspapers to these extraordinary decisions in favor of Lincoln's client on the eve of the presidential election.

It is certain that Lincoln, the party leader, used no coercion on his political follower, Dubois. If he had and if Dubois had yielded, the additional tax levies would not have been imposed. If Lincoln had tried to coerce Dubois and if Dubois had refused to obey, the extraordinarily friendly relations between the two men could not have continued. It cannot be established that Dubois and his counsel mishandled the court cases. Conditions may have justified the stipulation of February 18, 1859. There may have been excuses for the misunderstanding

[58] The railroad has had much important litigation. However, the quoted statement is the only reference to court decisions ever made in the annual reports of the company during many of its earlier years. This fact discloses the company's sense of the importance of the adjudications obtained by Lincoln and John M. Douglass.

of the Auditor and his lawyers as to the date of the 1859 appeal hearing which resulted in the failure of the state to have available some of its witnesses. If Dubois had been controlled he could and would have been in a position to demand rewards. The record shows that Dubois, notwithstanding his services in securing Lincoln's nomination, was a negligible factor in obtaining appointments from Lincoln. Dubois constantly and actively supported various persons for appointment by Lincoln to public office. For one reason or another his recommendations were disregarded. One instance is familiar. Dubois urged the appointment of a friend as Quartermaster General of the United States. Lincoln felt free to telegraph back to Dubois the following: "What nation do you desire General Allen to be made quarter-master-general of? This nation already has a quarter-master-general. A. Lincoln."[59]

The last chapter is told by Senator Shelby M. Cullom. When Lincoln was elected for the second term his Secretary of the Interior resigned. Uncle Jesse Dubois decided that he was entitled to that cabinet position. In December, 1864, he ceased to be Auditor and he went to Washington. Cullom relates that when Dubois' application was presented President Lincoln said that he could not appoint Uncle Jesse because he had promised Bishop Simpson of the Methodist church to appoint Senator Harlan of Iowa, and that he had promised the appointment to the Bishop because the Methodists had stood by the President throughout the War. Senator Cullom says:

"President Lincoln seemed much affected. He followed me to the door, repeating that he would like to take care of Uncle Jesse, but could not do so.

[59] Nicolay and Hay, eds., *Lincoln's Works*, IX:119.

"Jesse Dubois went home to Springfield but he remained as stanch a friend to Lincoln as ever, and was one of the committee sent from Springfield to accompany the remains of the immortal President to their last resting-place."[60]

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Many statements in the body of this paper with reference to the company's finances, land sales, earnings, etc., are taken from its annual reports, 1852-1861. The tax returns of the company for the years 1857, 1858, and 1859, the Auditor's valuation and his assessments, and Lincoln's notice of appeal, are copied in the Auditor's transcript of record still remaining on file in the appeal case in the office of the Clerk of the Illinois Supreme Court. A copy of that transcript also appears at pages 2106-2110 of the record in *People* v. *I.C.R.R. Co.*, No. 9412, Illinois Supreme Court. The record books of the Supreme Court in the 1859-1860 cases are complete, including the pages of Judge Breese's opinion in the opinion record of the Central Grand Division, omitted from the report in 27 Ill. 64.

[60] Shelby M. Cullom, *Fifty Years of Public Service* (2nd ed., Chicago, 1911), 135-36.

ART IN SOUTHERN ILLINOIS, 1865-1914

BY ESTHER MARY AYERS

IN the world of art, the years of the late 1800's and early 1900's constituted a period of great development, with changes in techniques, basic theories, and subject matter. The period saw the realistic school of painting evolve into the expressionistic and impressionistic schools; Seurat, Renoir, Cézanne, Van Gogh, Gauguin, Picasso, Daumier, Manet, and Monet were the great names of the age.[1]

In America, art grew from the work of the early limners of the Revolutionary period to the quiet, dignified, dramatic canvases of George Inness, who used figures "as incidents, as parts of the wholeness of nature. . . . He idealised all his creations with his magical light effects."[2] Contemporary of the great master of American landscapes was Thomas Nast, the boyish cartoonist whose clever, vitriolic cartoons broke the famous Tweed Ring; Winslow Homer, painter of the rugged people and the icy seas of New England; and Homer Martin, whose famous "Harp of the Winds" is one of America's first impressionistic landscape paintings.[3]

Immediately after the Civil War one of the most popular types of painting was that which told a story—

[1] Sadakichi Hartmann, *A History of American Art* (Boston, 1901), I: 101-102.
[2] *Ibid.*, 98-99.
[3] *Ibid.*, 125.

the so-called genre painting.[4] Such pictures have been favorites of Americans for years, taking precedence over still life studies and purely decorative art.

This love for story-telling pictures was only one manifestation of American taste from 1870 to 1900. Sacred motifs were especially popular, if one may judge from this southern Illinois newspaper advertisement for steel engravings:

> Our attention has been called to specimen copies of engravings on exhibition at Sommer's furniture store. . . . They are severally named "The Savior Raising Lazarus," "The Angel Delivering the Apostle Peter from Prison," "The Saviour in the Garden of Gethsemane," "Daniel in the Lion's Den," "Mary at the Saviour's Tomb," "Belshazzar's Feast," "Go and Sin No More," "The Lord's Prayer" and "Ten Commandments." These engravings are without doubt gotten up in the highest style of art, and will be magnificent ornaments for parlor or study. Every family should have them.[5]

Homes were the objects of sentimental decoration and care:

> We cannot bestow too much care on our homes. . . . It is as near a miniature of heaven, perhaps, as the earth presents . . . let us embellish them with art and nature; let us perfume them with flowers; let us enrich them with books, pictures, and comforts.[6]

Another aspect of the taste of the period was an almost idolatrous preference for anything foreign. But there were opponents of this attitude and they were loud in their criticism: "To many Americans the magic word 'Imported' coming from a salesman's mouth is sufficient to cause them to choose the foreign article in preference to an American article of equal merit which could be obtained for two-thirds the price."[7]

[4] "A style or subject matter, esp. of painting, dealing realistically with scenes from everyday life." *Webster's New International Dictionary.*

[5] *Carbondale New Era*, Nov. 25, 1871.

[6] *Ibid.*, June 19, 1871.

[7] *Cairo Bulletin*, Jan. 3, 1883.

Immediately after the Civil War the lack of interest in art in southern Illinois was reflected in the neglect the subject suffered at the hands of the newspapers. The first mention of art in the year 1868 in the *Cairo Democrat* is a left-handed reference to the decoration of a combination saloon and pool hall:

> Ornamental: The large windows in the front part of Walker & Sisson's commodious billiard hall and saloon have been tastefully ornamented by a painter who knows how to handle a brush in an artistic manner. The colors are harmoniously blended, and the lettering finely executed. It added materially to the appearance of the place.[8]

However, by 1883 the *Cairo Bulletin* was printing articles concerning the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art; and three years later the *Anna Talk* published notice of the opening of the Jubilee of the Berlin Academy of Arts.[9] In 1890 the *Talk* ran a half-column of notes containing information on art from London, France, Paris, and Boston; artists mentioned were Meissonier, Gustave Guillaumet, Albrecht Dürer, Rubens, Elizabeth Strong, Rosa Bonheur, Virginie Demont, Jules Bréton, and Kate and Edward Perugini.[10]

While the newspapers showed no especial interest in art during the Sixties and early Seventies, still the *Cairo Bulletin* was ready to fight for Egypt's right to possess works of art. In March, 1873, the *Bulletin* attacked a member of the Illinois House of Representatives in this manner:

> Jones a member of the Illinois house, objects to Mr. Casey's bill to build a soldiers monument in the cemetary [*sic*] at Mound City. Jones says the bill was introduced to build a monument at a special locality,.and is not intended to serve the general good of the state.

[8] July 15, 1883.
[9] May 28, 1886.
[10] Sept. 10, 1886.

Jones is a large hearted patriot. For Jones' sake the state ought to build a monument at a "general locality," and so big that it could be seen all over Illinois. But as this is impossible, a nice little monument, in Jones special locality, for him to feast his eyes on, might induce him to withdraw his objections to the Mound City monument.[11]

During this period women's clubs and literary societies flourished, and apparently felt called upon to support the cause of art in their programs. At the Southern Illinois Normal University the Zetetic Society presented a reading by Julia Campbell, "About Beauty and Ugliness!"[12] In her diary, Miss Maud Rittenhouse, of Cairo, stated in January, 1886:

Finished my paper on "The Age of Pericles" and read it at the afternoon meeting, to quite an assembly, receiving as a reward a mint of congratulations and approval of the ladies, and several inches of puff in the papers, in which my "well-known ability as artist and writer" figured conspicuously, and made me "peculiarly and especially fitted to deal with the brilliant age of Greek art."[13]

By 1892 the interest of the women's clubs in art brought this comment from Maud:

I had gone there [the library] to read a paper on Greek Sculpture. . . . Well, I read it . . . and also Mrs. Bird's paper on "Spanish Art" (it was art day and I am chairman of the Art Committee).[14]

By 1904 the interest in art in Carbondale led to the formation of an Art Study Club. In February the local paper printed the following notice:

The Art Study Club met at the Salter residence last evening and continued their studies of art and artists. The regular lesson was conducted by Miss Tillie Salter, papers being read by Misses Bessie

[11] March 8, 1873.
[12] Program of Annual Entertainment of the Zetetic Society, S.I.N.U., June 7, 1877, Carbondale, Ill.
[13] Richard Lee Strout, ed., *Maud* (New York, 1939), 367.
[14] *Ibid.*, 535.

Salter, Helen Peters, and Winnie Harker and Mrs. Bertha Barr Keesee.[15]

With this increased interest in art came an increase in the number of art exhibits. In the *Illinois School Journal* for January, 1883, an art exhibit was described under the heading, "Southern Normal Notes:"

> Two of the former students of the university are making a reputation in the line of art. Misses Hattie A. Allyn and Julia M. Campbell have given their attention to china painting, water colors, and crayon work. The demand for instruction in those branches of art has been so great as to justify organizing special classes. On Thursday, Dec. 16, the young ladies gave an exhibit of work done by themselves and their pupils, in the elegant parlors of Mrs. L. S. Campbell. Cards of invitation were sent to all interested in such skilled labor, in consequence of which the ample rooms were crowded by admirers from 2 o'clock to 9 P.M. The exposition of art work was indeed a new feature for the quiet village of Carbondale, and many retired feeling justly proud of the young artists.

Maud Rittenhouse recorded an art exhibit in Cairo in May, 1885;[16] on October 2 and 3, 1891, she gave her own exhibit. "Gave my art exhibit Friday and Saturday. *So* much work getting the things and hanging and arranging them. Pretty though. Stacks of people called."[17] Again, in March, 1893, she said: "I have given a successful art-exhibit in the studio."[18] And on January 26, 1904, the *Carbondale Free Press* printed this notice:

> Miss Salter, of the drawing department [of Southern Illinois Normal University] has placed on exhibition in the main corridor a collection of pictures which belong to the Western Art Association.

Closely allied with the art exhibits were the fine arts

[15] *Carbondale New Era*, Feb. 4, 1904.
[16] Strout, ed., *Maud*, 344.
[17] *Ibid.*, 531.
[18] *Ibid.*, 561.

departments at the various county fairs. The list of premiums to be awarded at the first annual fair of the Jackson County and Joint Stock Agriculture Society to be held at Murphysboro in October, 1869, included prizes for "best portrait in oil, best fancy painting in oil, best pencil drawing, best ambrotype, best sample work in feathers, and best sample work in hair."[19] The November 3, 1869, issue of the *New Era* listed the winners of the prizes in the fine arts department. It is interesting to note that the Carbondale photographer, J. C. Hughes, won first and second prizes for portraits in oil, first in photography, and first and second for ambrotypes.

In 1883 the *Illinois School Journal* again recorded the artistic accomplishments of Southern Illinois Normal University students:

> At the recent "Carbondale District Fair" the University was represented by an exhibit made by the pupils of Miss Raymond, in drawings in crayon and pencil. The display was a credit to the institution, and contributed largely to the art department of the fair. The work was done by the pupils in their regular class work, during last school year. In crayon, Miss Alice Buckley received the first premium, and Miss Ada Dunaway the second. In pencil, Miss Cora Krysher the first, Miss Gertie Hull the second.[20]

At the tenth annual Southern Illinois Fair, held at Anna, August 27-30, 1889, prizes were offered for the following exhibits:

> Best display oil paintings, by artist, best oil painting by artist, best water color painting by artist, best painting natural flowers, best painting with brush on silk and velvet, best display decorated china, by artist, best painting on china, by artist, best drawing with pencil, best life size portrait, best display photography by artist, best large size photograph by artist.[21]

[19] *Carbondale New Era*, Oct. 12, 1869.
[20] Vol. III, no. 7 (Nov., 1883), 183.
[21] *Anna Talk*, July 12, 1887.

Concerning the Union County Fair at Jonesboro, the *Anna Talk* remarked with obvious condescension: "There is a fair art display."[22] Evidently the rivalry between Anna and Jonesboro extended even to the fine arts departments of the two fairs!

In Cairo, art became a matter of civic interest when the A. B. Safford Memorial Library Building was erected in 1883. On that occasion the *Illinois School Journal* said:

> One of the best men Cairo ever had was Mr. A. B. Safford. . . . As a most fitting memorial of this honored and valued citizen, a beautiful building is about to arise, dedicated forever to culture, taste, and the diffusion of knowledge. It will contain an art hall, a library, and a reading room. . . . This magnificent gift is presented by Mrs. Safford to commemorate the worth of her lamented husband.[23]

The *Cairo Bulletin* commented:

> The plan for the Safford Memorial Library Building to be erected in this city by Mrs. A. B. Safford has arrived and has been accepted. . . . It was prepared by Messrs. Williams, architects, of Chicago. . . . The windows . . . will be of double sashes, each filled with a single pane of French plate glass, and will be crowned with an arch of stained glass.[24]

This Safford Memorial Library, still actively serving the community, boasts unusual window treatment. The arches above the windows proper are works of art in stained glass. No two arches are made alike; variety appears in the borders, the center panels, and the colors. The arches are divided into three sections; in the middle section of each arch is a disk containing either a portrait of a famous author or a group of stylized flowers. The flower groups are incised and painted, while the portraits are painted. The portraits are done in subdued

[22] Sept. 13, 1889.
[23] Vol. II, no. 11 (March, 1883).
[24] Jan. 14, 1883.

colors, with flesh, black, white, dark brown, green, and gold as the predominating colors. The side sections of each arch are bordered in a geometric design, different for each window, and are filled with varying patterns of leaves and blossoms.

In the Safford Library are objects of art, both foreign and native to southern Illinois. A marble bust of A. B. Safford on the first landing of the stairs was made in Italy. Two statues of bronze in exterior niches of the library represent the Greek goddesses Clio and Concordia.

> These statues were purchased by a fund to which many of the citizens of Cairo contributed and were brought here and set up one at each end of the stage in the Lecture Room, unbeknown to Mrs. Safford, who saw them for the first time when she entered the room Saturday night [July 19, 1884] to present the institution to the city. They were formally presented to her on behalf of the citizens by Mrs. Laura J. Rittenhouse.[25]

In front of the library is a bronze fountain, "The Fighting Boys," by Janet Scudder, representing two nude children modestly wreathed with flowers, struggling for the possession of a fish. The fountain was the gift of Miss Mary Hughitt Halliday. The Art Institute of Chicago also owns one copy of this fountain, since Miss Scudder has permitted as many as three castings of some of her sculptures.

Now standing in the business district of Cairo, George Grey Barnard's famous statue, "The Hewer," was given to the city by the family of Captain William Parker Halliday in 1906, "in token of his unswerving faith in her destiny."[26] The cast was made in 1903 in New York at the Henry-Bonnard Bronze Company.

[25] *Cairo Bulletin*, July 22, 1884.
[26] From dedication inscription on base of statue.

It is of heroic size, the figure of a primitive man, full of power, exerting his strength and suggestive of the progress of mankind. It is considered one of the finest nudes in America. Cairo is most fortunate to own this example of the work of one of the great sculptors of the United States.[27]

As art grew into the lives of the people of southern Illinois, the schools had to meet an increased demand for instruction. In 1867 the Southern Illinois College at Carbondale announced that Mrs. Dayo would teach painting and drawing. "Ample arrangements have been made for complete and thorough instruction in all common collegiate and ornamental branches taught in our best schools,"[28] the *New Era* commented. Blackburn University at Carlinville in September, 1886, ran the following advertisement: "Features . . . elegant Studio, with accomplished instructor in every branch of Sketching, Crayoning and Painting."[29] Even earlier the Southern Illinois College at Carbondale had announced: "Music, Painting, and Modern Languages Extra."[30] Perhaps the lessons were not as much in demand as Clark Braden, the president of the college, had expected, for in the advertisement of the following year no mention of art lessons was made.

Art was offered the first term that the Southern Illinois Normal University was in operation. "The following is the Normal course. . . . It substantially embraces a department of Mathematics, of English Language and Literature, of Arts and Elocution, Music, Drawing and Calisthenics, of Physics, Chemistry." Every student was advised to obtain a copy of Smith's *Free Hand Drawing*

[27] Quoted from illustrated lecture, "Art in Illinois," by Mrs. Lorado Taft (compilation in A. B. Safford Library, Cairo).
[28] Oct. 31, 1867.
[29] *Anna Talk*, Sept. 10, 1886.
[30] *New Era*, Dec. 21, 1869.

for Public Schools to use as a reference in teaching.[31] In 1876 it was announced that "spelling, writing, and drawing are carried on till the students are perfect and are excused. Vocal music is the same."[32] In the catalogue for the year 1878, art received this tribute: "Free hand Drawing, an art now considered as almost indispensable to the professional teacher, is taught, with a view of rendering it most highly practical to the student."

The free hand drawing course was clearly outlined in the 1879 catalogue:

> Free hand drawing. Straight, singly, and in combination to make figures. Definitions. Curves. Drawing leaves from nature—objects also. Composition by means of elements. Work on the blackboard. Perspective in its elements. Some copying of engraved pictures and head is allowed, but this is not recommended to be carried to any great extent. The teacher is to be taught this wonderful art mostly to enable him to use the chalk and the blackboard—not the pencil, to illustrate whatever he may have to present to his class.

The children in the practice department of the University were not neglected; by 1886 they were being subjected to a well-ordered plan of fundamentals in drawing,[33] and were probably better grounded in the principles of art than were some of their practice teachers!

Mrs. Helen N. Nash was the first teacher of drawing at the University, and her first year's report on the progress of her work is most interesting:

> When I first engaged in the work, I did so with the understanding that Drawing was simply an "experiment" whose continuity depended on the degree of success attained during that year. The facilities for conducting the work were limited, and matters generally in a rather chaotic condition; many of the students regarded it merely as an exercise involving nothing but waste of time, while

[31] *Second Annual Catalogue of the Southern Illinois Normal University at Carbondale, Illinois*, 1875-1876.
[32] *Third Annual Catalogue*, 1876-1877, p. 21.
[33] *Fifteenth Annual Catalogue*, 1888-1889, p. 63.

others expressed for it a decided abhorrence.

Especial attention has been given to the development of a taste for Industrial Drawing, but as this is not a manufacturing region, considerable difficulty has been experienced in impressing students with a full sense of its importance. I think that branch of Drawing which is best calculated to aid in developing the leading industries of the locality in which it is taught will be most acceptable to the people of that section. . . .

Many of the pupils have shown marked ability and in striving to cultivate the special talent of each, the practical uses of Drawing have not been neglected. It is indispensable to the teacher who aims at the highest success in his calling and should go hand in hand with almost every study.[34]

A year later Mrs. Nash wrote:

It has been our endeavor in thus giving a liberal course, to instruct our students so as to give them power for self-culture, and render them competent when they go hence as teachers, to develop the special talent of their pupils in any or all of the various branches of the art.

Our work this year has been largely facilitated by the acquisition of a great variety of beautiful studies from the flat, also a number of fine models in plaster. . . .

We trust that in the future our highest aims for the development of the abundant talent of the Students of Southern Illinois, in this beautiful and highly useful branch of culture, will be realized.[35]

In 1880 a new teacher, Miss Jennie Candee, was apparently quite angry. In her report for the year she wrote:

The pupils in drawing have manifest a remarkable interest in their work, considering the fact that the Trustees of the Institution have seen fit to exclude from the course all that was purely artistic and ornamental, the part most attractive to the student.[36]

To show the work accomplished, and to serve as a final examination, the five students who completed the

[34] *Third Annual Report of the Principal of the Southern Illinois Normal University, Carbondale, Illinois*, 1876-1877, pp. 17-18.

[35] *Fourth Annual Report*, 1877-1878, p. 32.

[36] *Sixth Annual Report*, 1880.

art course in 1881 had to meet the following requirements:

> Finish six Diploma Drawings, consisting of (1) An original blackboard and dictation exercise, (2) a sheet of Geometric Problems, (3) an enlarged flat copy of Ornament, (4) an original design of plant forms, (5) Perspective Problems, and (6) Outline of objects.[37]

In 1876 the Trustees in their report approved of "the experiment of a teacher of drawing," and then further praised Mrs. Nash: "Mrs. Nash has been the teacher with such good success that specimens of our work sent to the Philadelphia Exposition have received honorable mention."[38]

In 1885 there came to the campus of the Southern Illinois Normal University a woman who was to have a direct influence on southern Illinois art for thirty-two years. She was Miss Matilda Finley Salter of Springfield, who taught art at the University from 1885 to 1917. An enthusiastic worker, almost single handed she built the art department into its present form. She introduced a methods course in which "Public school art in its relation to American life will be discussed."[39] She brought pottery again into the realm of practicality by her clay models of the University buildings for the exhibit at the Chicago Exposition in 1904.[40] For the first time students who wanted more than free hand drawing could have "Design—including modeling in clay. Some instructions in firing and glazing of pottery."[41] Water color, oils, and a history of art were other of her contributions to the curriculum of the school. In 1908-1909

[37] *Seventh Annual Report*, 1881.
[38] *Second Biennial Report*, 1876, p. 8.
[39] *Normal School Bulletin*, Vol. III, no. 2 (1909), 35.
[40] *Carbondale Free Press*, Feb. 25, 1904.
[41] *Normal School Bulletin*, Vol. III, no. 2 (1909), 35.

she was granted a leave of absence to study in Europe,[42] and on her return published a manual called "Picture Study in the Public Schools." The pamphlet reflects two trends of American thinking, for most of the pictures recommended were pictures by the old masters—Raphael, Michel Angelo, Correggio, with a sprinkling of more modern painters, such as Millet, Whistler, and Turner; and second, many of the pictures told a story. These two trends, a respect for the old masters and foreign art, and the love of a story-telling picture, have already been discussed, but must be constantly remembered in considering this period.

Another teacher of influence in southern Illinois was Miss Amy Kirkpatrick, who joined the staff of the Union Academy at Anna in 1889. Nineteen years later, when Benton Hall was built, "Miss Birdie," as she was affectionately known, was installed in a room built especially for her. The Union Academy Catalogue stated that the art department offered the following subjects:

> Free-hand drawing, painting in oil and water colors, studies from nature in landscapes, figures and still life. Free-Hand Drawing one period per week. One year's satisfactory work is required of all candidates for a diploma. This is included in the regular tuition. Private lessons in drawing are twenty-five cents each and in painting, fifty cents each.[43]

Miss Kirkpatrick, an Anna woman, won quite a reputation as an artist. She taught in the Academy of Fine Arts in Toledo, Ohio, leaving a gap behind her which the *Talk* bewailed.[44] The 1886 Union County Fair at Jonesboro had a good, though limited, art display, for "Miss Kirkpatrick's paintings, which heretofore formed

[42] *Twenty-eighth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Illinois, July 1, 1908-June* 30, 1910 (Springfield, 1911), 622.
[43] *Catalogue for 1908-1909, the Union Academy of Southern Illinois.*
[44] Sept. 28, 1886.

so prominent and attractive a feature, are sadly missed."[45]

This small, red haired, bird-like woman turned out an overwhelming amount of work. Naturally some of her paintings are better than others. Her portraits of old men are especially fine. One of the best is her painting of the founder of the Stimpson Memorial Library in Anna, which hangs over the entrance of the library.

Miss Kirkpatrick loved to paint trees half hidden in a mist, or hills fading into the distance. Her coloring in landscapes was predominantly lavender, grayed green, misty blue, and greenish brown. Yet her work was not insipid, as such a description might suggest. In one painting, a landscape showing a series of terraces bordered by shrubbery, she used all her favorite pastel colors but worked in splashes of gold, wine, red, and vivid blue to give beauty and life to the picture. She had a remarkable color sense, although her drawing was not always accurate. In her rambles with artist friends she painted the orchards which surround Anna, the hills and woods, but very few buildings. Her style is impressionistic, with a reflection of Monet's mosaic-like handling of color especially in her landscapes.

As a teacher "Miss Birdie" could illustrate, though she could not instruct. She was unable to find the words she needed to convey corrections or directions to her students. Her pupils remember a gentle lady who could paint beautifully but could not teach them her art.[46]

A friend and fellow artist of Miss Kirkpatrick was Dan Perrine. Also a native of Anna, Mr. Perrine studied art in Chicago and then returned to Anna to live.[47] The

[45] *Anna Talk*, Sept. 17, 1886.
[46] Personal testimony, Mrs. Carita Alden, April 10, 1942.
[47] Personal testimony, Mr. George Spires, April 25, 1942.

majority of his paintings were done in a loose, expressionistic style, in delicately subtle coloring.

In strong contrast to his suggestive vagueness of line in his paintings was his work on chalk plates for the *Anna Talk*. The chalk plates demanded an economy and accuracy of line similar to the etching process; Mr. Perrine's illustrations and cartoons for the *Talk* are simplified almost to line drawings. One of his cartoons, "The Man Who Looks On," is still used to head the editorial column of the *Talk*.

There are three cartoonists more famous than Mr. Perrine who are also products of southern Illinois. Frank Willard of Anna is the creator of "Moon Mullins."[48] Mr. Willard went to school under Mrs. Hannah Sandborn and Miss Kirkpatrick, later studied in Chicago, and is now affiliated with the *Chicago Tribune*. McAvoy of New Burnside drew "The Potters," a cartoon of family life.[49] Elziar Segar, creator of "Popeye," was from Chester. He worked there for a time as scene painter in the local opera house, made advertising slides, and studied cartooning in a correspondence course. His syndicated character, "Popeye," was modeled after a man who still lives in Chester.[50]

Still another native southern Illinois artist, more famous for her diary than for her painting, was Miss Maud Rittenhouse of Cairo. As the artistic daughter of a fairly wealthy family, Miss Rittenhouse had the advantage of training at the St. Louis School of Fine Arts. Her account of life at the school, the excitement caused by a promotion, and her joy at being permitted to enter

[48] *Who's Who in America.*

[49] Article from Cairo paper; scrapbook in possession of Miss Luella Amon, Carbondale.

[50] Letter from William J. May to author, May 18, 1942.

the nude class make amusing as well as interesting reading.[51]

After the work at the School of Fine Arts, Miss Rittenhouse returned to Cairo and taught art in her own studio, at fifty cents a lesson. She apparently followed the same method of teaching as that employed at the Southern Illinois Normal University, for she referred to her casts, "drawing from the flat, and decorative painting."

Although she can hardly be classed as a native artist of southern Illinois, Miss Mary Halliday was born in Cairo and lived there occasionally. The daughter of a wealthy family, in her youth she was taken abroad, where her artistic ability was discovered and cultivated. She studied in Paris under Whistler, in New York under William M. Chase and Kenyon Cox, and in Chicago and Berlin, as well as in Spain. She has exhibited her paintings many times in Europe as well as in the United States.[52]

Perhaps Miss Halliday has not been fairly represented in the pictures presented to the Safford Memorial Library. One picture, "A Peasant," represents an old woman, dressed in a green skirt and a blue jacket. The flesh tones are fairly good, but the general effect of the painting is one of amateurish, labored brushwork.

Her second picture, "Mrs. Anna E. Safford," is even less satisfactory. The coloring is harsh, the pose is stilted, and the flesh tones are mere banal pinks and whites. The unhappy juxtaposition of a painting by William M. Chase, a gift of Miss Halliday, renders the contrast even more obvious. The "Portrait Study,"

[51] Strout, ed., *Maud*, 322-49.

[52] Letter from Miss Mary Halliday to Miss Effie Lansden, June 11, 1940 (in possession of the Cairo Library).

Chase's work, shows golden flesh tones, a natural pose, and an unmistakable sign of sureness in the handling of the subject, all of which are lacking in Miss Halliday's paintings.

Among the historical painters of the United States, Robert Root ranks quite high. Mr. Root was a native of Shelbyville and remained in his home town most of his life.[53] He studied art in the St. Louis School of Fine Arts and showed such talent that the citizens of Shelbyville took up a collection and sent him to school in Europe. He studied in Italy and Paris, but felt that he owed a debt to his native town and so returned to work there most of his life.[54] He painted scenes of Illinois, mainly fields in the autumn, his favorite type of landscape. He did a few etchings and very little commercial work. He is mainly remembered for his huge panoramic historical canvases. His "Lincoln-Douglas Debate" hangs in the Capitol at Springfield. The "Lincoln-Thornton Debate" was given to the Shelbyville High School. He painted the history of his state with love and understanding; for that reason his work has depth and power and gives him the distinction of being the only noted artist from this area.

Since southern Illinois was the crossroad of the great German migration of the 1870's, it is only natural that the immigrants should have been represented among the artists of Egypt. One of the most versatile artists of southern Illinois was a young German who settled in Anna during this time.

Charles Anthony Clemens was a native of Dusseldorf and later graduated from art school in Berlin. He came

[53] Personal testimony, Woodrow Cordray, April 30, 1942.
[54] Letter from E. H. Wuerpel to author, May 4, 1942.

to America when he was but twenty-one and soon settled in Anna as a house painter. While working for John Spires, he was given the nickname of "Bismarck," because of his admiration for the great German minister.[55] He signed all his American-made paintings by his nickname, rather than by his real name. He painted landscapes of dark woods, and dark waters; old castles and cloudy skies were also favorites. He satirically portrayed brown-robed monks tippling piously. His paintings have an Old World charm which was apparently characteristic of the man himself.

Combining his artistic ability with his house painting, "Bismarck" decorated Miller's Opera House in Anna. With water colors he painted plump German cupids on the ceiling, a portrait of Shakespeare over the center of the arch of the stage, and "a life-sized picture of a lady flying." According to his helper, "Birdie Kirk don't like the lady, so we took her out and added another cupid!"[56]

Although she was not a native of southern Illinois, Mrs. Hannah Sandborn added a great deal of interest to the artistic interests of Anna. She was graduated from the Gilmanton, New Hampshire, Academy in 1854. After her marriage she moved to Illinois, where both she and her husband taught school. Mrs. Sandborn taught in grade schools for twenty-five years and "used the painting, drawing, and music in all her school work for the benefit and pleasure of her pupils."[57] She especially loved to paint snow scenes, and would often give them as gifts for birthdays or Christmas. Every Christmas she gave an exhibit of her own work and

[55] Letter from Mrs. Lena Coffman to author, April 21, 1942.
[56] Personal testimony, George Spires, April 26, 1942.
[57] Letter from Mrs. H. H. Evans to author, April 29, 1942.

that of her pupils, serving her prospective customers coffee and little cakes. She was also most skillful in the field of "fancy painting."

"Fancy painting," as the county fair catalogues called it, or "decorative painting" as Maud Rittenhouse called it, was painting done on anything except regular canvas or board. For a time the ladies (this was strictly a feminine branch of art!) painted everything they could find—silk, velvet, brass, china, satin, wood, and even mirrors.

China painting was perhaps the favorite type of fancy painting. Miss Elizabeth Holbrook, of Chester, painted a set of fruit plates, using different designs on every plate. The colors are realistic, the drawing is meticulous, and the total effect of the decoration is pleasing but not ostentatious. Miss Hattie Mullencamp of Metropolis also painted china, using again and again her favorite color—a light blue-green. One vase which she decorated has the blue-green background upon which are three flowers, pink, lilac, and pale yellow. The base and lip of the vase are edged with gold. A dresser set consisting of a tray, a powder jar, and a hair receiver have the same blue-green background, with rosebuds painted in the corners of the tray, on the lids of the two jars, and as a decorative band around both jars. These are also trimmed with gold. Mrs. Carrie M. Moore, of Cobden, painted china, gave lessons, and had a kiln of her own in which she fired the newly painted china. Mrs. Moore's designs were generally in gold upon a white background, simple classical forms of dignity and grace. Miss Grace Miller, another Cobden resident, also painted china. In 1913 she was giving lessons in Carbondale. Mrs. Eva Clark of Harrisburg was interested

in all aspects of china painting, and her interest eventually led her to study the patterns of old glass and china.

When she started teaching art in Cairo, Maud Rittenhouse included instruction in china painting in her course. She fired her own work and that of her pupils in an unpredictable kiln. "You don't know how exciting the first firings were, before we quite knew what to expect or how things would turn out." She "tinted the oyster-plates for a wedding present for Wint. Did six a very, very pale green." At Christmas time in 1881 she wrote: "I gave Elmer a cup and saucer, painted myself; . . . to Papa a heavy black hand-painted paper-weight; . . . to Robin cup and saucer." When one of the young gentlemen of Cairo had a birthday, she gave him an unusual birthday present. "Harry Robbins is twenty to-day—I painted him a china plaque with cattails and pond lilies."

Painting upon cloth of all kinds was another aspect of fancy painting. One lady remembered: "At our D.A.R. meeting I saw an old quilt, a crazy quilt, with little things painted on it—flowers, pipes, fruit on each patch."

Maud Rittenhouse was continually covering bottles with pale blue satin, painting flowers on them, and giving them as presents. She even painted hatbands for the boys. In 1882 she wrote in her journal:

> Have just tacked a hat-band in Elmer's new stiff gray one. Band is pale gray satin with E.E.C. (and spray of bluebells on each side) done in pink shading from faintest shell to rose-pink.
>
> Painted one for Alice to give Eugene. Blue on crimson. Am also painting one for Lillie Phillips. Cream-colored and blue on dregs-of-wine. Its all the rage now—every girl embroiders or prints her "particular" a band for the inside of his hat on which are his

initials. Elmer's looks awfully pretty—the gray and pink over the white satin lining.[58]

Concerning her mother's Christmas present one year, Maud wrote: "I gave her a banjo covered with pale pink satin, handpainted roses and lilacs, morning glories under silver strings on handle, pale blue velvet around the bowl." That same Christmas Maud received from "Bettie, a handsome brass tambourine, painted in violets and Scotch thistles." Helping with the interior decoration of the Rittenhouse home, Maud "painted water-lilies and cat tails on the hat-rack mirror in the hall downstairs."

By far the biggest piece of fancy painting that Maud did was the decoration of her ball gown. The dress was made of pale blue and pale pink satin.

> Up the front I am painting hedge-roses, *blooming* right from the bottom, a perfect wilderness of them. If I've time, I'll run life sized morning glory vines in blossom all over the pink and scatter butterflies promiscuously.

The next day she wrote:

> Painting nearly all day in the tower; 27 roses so far on the front of that satin.

The next entry in her diary read:

> Finished painting yesterday—one humming bird and three butterflies in the roses.

Mrs. Sandborn, mentioned before as an Anna artist, was famous for her wall plaques. She painted richly shaded pansies on white velvet strips, and found a ready market for them in the homes of her friends in Anna and Jonesboro.[59]

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[58] Strout, ed., *Maud*, 95.
[59] Letter from Mrs. H. H. Evans to author, April 29, 1942.

Mrs. Isabella Lanning Candee of Cairo seems to have been the only sculptor and wood carver in the area whose work received notice. She carved the reredos in the chancel of the Episcopal Church of Cairo, and carved the alms basins as well. "For her work in art, she received a distinctive award at the Chicago World's Fair."[60] She received "a bronze medal and certificate of award in the Woman's Building for work at the Rookwood Pottery in Cincinnati."[61]

Potteries were no novelty in southern Illinois between 1865 and 1900. There were at least four flourishing potteries in Egypt during this period. The Anna Pottery was founded in 1859 by C. and W. Kirkpatrick of Anna. At first the clay was brought from Grand Chain, a town on the Ohio River. In 1860 a fine grade of clay was discovered about four miles outside of Anna and was sought by the brothers. Thereafter the pottery was a completely native product, from the clay that began the process to the humor that shaped many of the finished bits of pottery.

An 1869 report reads:

> The market for the wares made here is chiefly in this State, and within 100 miles of Anna. When the pottery was first started, its wares were shipped 300 miles, but now, although doing four times the business it did at first, it scarcely supplies the demand within the first named area.[62]

At a later date, a Carbondale newspaper announced:

> Wall Kirk., of C. and W. Kirkpatrick, proprietors of Anna pottery, was in town last Monday. Everybody knows Wall, and every-

[60] *Cairo Citizen*, March 31, 1931.
[61] Biography of Mrs. Isabella Lannin Candee (MS, Cairo Library).
[62] James P. Crawford & Co., comp. and pub., *Illinois Central Directory, Containing Brief Historical Sketches of the Various Towns Located on the Lines of the Illinois Central Railroad* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1869), 173-74.

body knows his Anna Pottery: and he went away with big orders. We hope it is not his last visit.[63]

But in 1889 the same paper, in a reprint in the *Anna Talk*, had a different report:

> We note that but little of the stoneware manufactured by the Messrs. Kirkpatrick, of the Anna Pottery, is now sold in this county. The cause for this is that competitors at a distance have undersold them by offering lower prices where carload lots were ordered. . . . Now the Kirkpatricks have resolved to meet the cut in prices. About January 6 their agent will visit Carbondale, and solicit orders in carload lots, and will make figures as low as any that have been offered.[64]

The products made by the Anna Pottery were numerous and varied. The pottery produced utilitarian umbrella stands, canning jars, churns, chamber pots, tiles, firebrick, and clay pipes. "The clay pipes manufactured are mostly shipped South, for use on the plantations. Simply the bowls are made, the planters and negroes inserting reeds in them for stems."[65] Pipe bowls were made by the million for the South, according to an account written in 1883. One firm in St. Louis had taken 2,000,000 yearly for the preceding three years.[66]

We are told that the pottery was "also extensively engaged in the manufacture of Cairo goblets,"[67] or whiskey jugs! Hanging baskets, dolls' heads, and toy banks were other articles of production. The pottery also made tiny one inch jugs and inserted the Lord's Prayer with a lens in the mouth of the jug to magnify the letters. The same thing was done with minute log

[63] *New Era*, Aug. 5, 1871.
[64] *Anna Talk*, Dec. 27, 1889.
[65] Crawford, comp., *Illinois Central Directory*, 174.
[66] William H. Perrin, ed., *History of Alexander, Union and Pulaski Counties, Illinois* (Chicago, 1883), 388.
[67] Crawford, comp., *Illinois Central Directory*, 173.

cabins—except that the lens was placed in the chimney of the cabin.[68]

After following the cartoons of Thomas Nast in his blasting of the Tweed Ring, the Kirkpatrick brothers struck up a friendship with Mr. Nast through correspondence and made a jug or vase for him.

> [It] was presented to Thomas Nast, famous caricaturist in New York, in recognition of the power of his caricatures in showing the evils of the Tweed Ring. The jug, owned by the [New York Historical] Society, shows William ("Boss") Tweed and his followers in the form of snakes trying to climb into the money pot. The jug was made by Cornwall E. Kirkpatrick of the Anna Potteries in Illinois.[69]

In a letter of thanks to the Kirkpatricks, Mr. Nast wrote:

> I have received the vase you so kindly sent for me, and I shall soon have it sent home, where I shall have it constantly before me as a very pleasant reminder of your good will.
>
> The design is most ingenious and graceful, and must have been the work of a skillful modeler, and I assure you that it will afford me great gratification to show it to my friends.[70]

The Anna Pottery had an exhibit at almost every county fair within shipping distance of the pottery. In 1893 an exhibit was sent to the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. One object, a little brown pig bank, still remains of all the pottery in the exhibit. With his nose pointing west, the pig's inscription reads "From the World's Fair, with a little good Old Rye in a Pig's eye, 1893," and around his tail is the legend, "Cut Rates to all Points East."[71]

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[68] Personal testimony, Miss Harriet Kirkpatrick, April 10, 1942.

[69] Letter from New York Historical Society to author, April 10, 1942.

[70] Letter from Thomas Nast to C. & W. Kirkpatrick, Nov. 6, 1871 (in possession of Miss Harriet Kirkpatrick, Anna, Ill.).

[71] Bank in possession of Miss Harriet Kirkpatrick, Anna, Ill.

Perhaps the most unusual creation of the Anna Pottery was the "Pioneer Farm." This was a complete miniature farm, twenty-five feet square, made of pottery and set up in a tent at the various exhibitions. Snakes, frogs, log cabins, mules, wagons, barns, houses, rail fences, trees, farm implements of all kinds, men, women, and children, "houn'" dogs, chickens, coonskins drying on the walls of the cabin, and Indians lurking in the trees made up a complete picture of pioneer life. The "Pioneer Farm" was exhibited at Coney Island and at the Philadelphia Centennial as well as at the local fairs. The entire farm disappeared in St. Louis.[72]

In 1868 the possibility of a pottery near Shawneetown was reported:

> Porcelain Clay in Pope County. The discovery of a large bed of porcelain clay in Pope County promises to inaugurate a new branch of industry in that county that will add greatly to the prosperity of the people. The *Shawneetown Mercury* says the clay resembles magnesia and produces a ware resembling if not equaling the ironstone of Liverpool.
>
> Messrs. Brewer, Holt, and Brewer of Trenton, N.J. are operating the banks, and have made large purchases of real estate, with a view to the establishment of potteries.[73]

In Metropolis in 1899 there were two potteries in operation, while another functioned at Round Knob, north of Metropolis.[74] The clay used at Metropolis came from Joppa, was hauled up the river in boats, then transferred to wagons which took it to the potteries. The potteries at Metropolis made purely utilitarian objects—milk crocks, jugs, and bowls.

In a school report on Longfellow Day in 1892 the Metropolis public school reported that the poem dealing

[72] Personal testimony, Miss Harriet Kirkpatrick, April 10, 1942.
[73] *Cairo Democrat*, May 29, 1868.
[74] Personal testimony, Clarence Bonnell, April 30, 1942.

with pottery was chosen, "because of the familiarity of the audience with the process of making pottery, there being a large manufacture of pottery here."[75]

Here, then, in southern Illinois existed the dame situation as in the rest of the world. A few people were innately artistic; others by the nature of their business were forced to take art into consideration; and the third group dabbled, playing around with art just for the fun of it.

The methods of teaching used in Chicago and St. Louis were copied in southern Illinois schools, but the good sense of some of the instructors allowed a bit of room for regional interests to creep in. Like the other parts of the United States, the southern part of Illinois admired the conventional, rather than the bizarre, and the foreign rather than the native art.

The broad, lusty humor of the back country still lived in the art of the area, in the amusing bits of pottery, and in the definitely slapstick cartoons produced by men from southern Illinois. At the same time a delicacy and refinement existed as shown in the works of some of the china painters and artists who handled color and design skillfully.

Southern Illinois followed rather than led in the development of art in the period from 1865 to 1914, producing only one man, Robert Root, who had any claim to national fame. Still, the growing interest in art, and the strength of some of the native work, entitle Egypt to her share of consideration when we talk of art in Illinois.

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[75] *Illinois School Journal*, Vol. I, no. 11 (March, 1882), 25.

DUTCH REFORMED BEGINNINGS IN ILLINOIS

BY ELIZABETH ELLIS

THE Reformed Church of Fairview, Illinois, the oldest Reformed Church west of the Allegheny Mountains, celebrated its centennial in 1937. Organized a century earlier with only eight members, when the town of Fairview consisted of three log cabins, a log schoolhouse and one frame building,[1] it stands today practically unchanged, with its original sheathing of black walnut shingles, a monument to the faith of a handful of New Jersey emigrants who were anxious to bring their church to the Illinois wilderness.

Just when the migration from New Jersey to Fairview began is not certain. An account of the settlement of the township of Fairview, taken from a history of Fulton County, in which Fairview is located, states that Matthias Swegle, the first settler, came from New Jersey in 1829.[2] The same account says that Peter Pumyea moved to Illinois in 1836, after making a visit to the state in

[1] H. M. B. Wilson, "History of the Reformed Church of Fairview, Illinois." This history of the church, and of the settlement of the town itself, was written by the son of the first minister of the Reformed Church in Fairview. I used the manuscript copy, containing 200 pages, which was lent to me by the daughter of the author, Miss Marge Wilson, now living in Fairview. There are three typed copies of the history in the possession of the Wilson family, each 400 pages long. As information was obtained mainly from this history, individual footnotes from it will be omitted. Footnotes will be included only when material could be checked, or additions made, from other sources.

[2] Charles C. Chapman & Co., pub., *History of Fulton County, Illinois* (Peoria, 1879), 623. Matthias Swegle was a Methodist.

1835 when he visited his cousin, Richard Addis, "who had lived for many years in Fairview tp." Peter Ten Eyck left North Branch, New Jersey, for Illinois in 1832, settling first at Macomb and moving to Fairview in 1835.[3] As immigration to Fulton County increased, Moses Hall and Benjamin Foster placed their lands upon the market and laid out the village of Fairview, which was later added to by Peter Pumyea and Richard Davis.[4] The town was first called Utica but the name was later changed to Fairview. With regard to the name, Mr. Wilson has written:

> Why Fairview was selected as the name of the Town, the writer has never been able to learn.
>
> It may have been because from any given point on the Prairie, one could view the whole landscape, or it may have been in honor of the Groves, which were God's first Temples, of which in every direction the settlers on this isolated Prairie had a fair and unobstructed view.

The fall of 1837 found the following families from New Jersey living in Fairview: Aaron D. Addis, Clarkson Van Nostrand, Richard Davis, Darius Gilmore, Peter Pumyea, Stephen Robinson, John S. Wyckoff, Daniel Groenendyke and Stogden Wyckoff. Peter Ten Eyck and Edward Cox, unmarried, had also moved there from New Jersey. On August 19, 1837, some of these people met at the log schoolhouse and "the object of the meeting was to take into consideration the establishment of a church in the midst of them." Peter Pumyea was chosen chairman of the meeting and John S. Wyckoff was made secretary. Richard Davis, Daniel Groenendyke and Henry B. Evans made up the committee chosen

[3] Newton Bateman and Paul Selby, *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois and History of Fulton County* (Chicago, 1908), II:1142.

[4] Chapman, pub., *History of Fulton County*, 624.

to draft resolutions concerning the organization of a church. They reported as follows:

First, Resolved, that we consider the church of Christ, one of the greatest blessings bestowed on man.

Second, Resolved, that we consider the Doctrines and Forms held by the Reformed Dutch Church of North America, in accordance with our views of the Bible: and whereas, there are some here and in this vicinity, who were in communion with her; and whereas, there are a number here who were baptized and brought up under her protection, and whereas, there are others here who feel friendly towards having an Orthodox church established in this place; and whereas, the greater part of us emigrated from the Revered Classis of New Brunswick, New Jersey,—Therefore, be it Resolved, that we send a Memorial to that Revered body; and solicit them to send a regular ordained minister as soon as convenient, to organize a church in this place to be called the First Reformed Dutch Church of Fairview, Illinois.

Third, Resolved, that John S. Wyckoff and Peter Pumyea be a committee to draft said Memorial and report to this meeting.

The committee must have acted promptly and sent the memorial immediately, for the minutes of the Classis[5] of New Brunswick for September 6, 1837, include the following statement:

A communication was rec'd. through Rev. Mr. Williamson from a number of individuals in Illinois who are in connection with the Ref. D. Church asking for a missionary whereupon it was Resolved that the Rev. A. D. Wilson be appointed primarius and the Rev. Ch. Whitshead secundus to visit that region of country and organize a Church of our persuasion and the travelling expenses of said agent be paid and his pulpit supplied by Classis during his absence.[6]

Thus just eighteen days after the meeting in the log schoolhouse in Fairview, Illinois, the Classis of New

[5] Classis is the term used in the Reformed Church for a group of churches in a local area which are bound together for ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Each church is represented on the Classis by its minister and an elder. The Classis has jurisdiction over the churches and ministers within its area.

[6] Minutes, Classis of New Brunswick, Sept. 6, 1837 (MS, Sage Library, New Brunswick Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, N.J.).

Brunswick had authorized the sending of a missionary to Illinois, and less than a month later, October 3, 1837, the missionary, the Reverend Abraham Wilson, had arrived in Fairview with discretionary power to decide whether it seemed wise to organize a church there. He visited the people in their cabins and preached to them in the schoolhouse on the Sabbath. After thirteen days, he called a meeting at which a resolution for organizing the church was passed. Clarkson Van Nostrand and John S. Wyckoff were chosen elders and Aaron D. Addis was named deacon. There were only eight members in all, the three officials and five women.[7] Mr. Wilson writes:

> With these eight souls constituting the entire membership, this mother of the Reformed Dutch church in this then barren western field, was established with its incomplete organization. Had the five female members been eligible to office, it would have taken the entire eight members to have made complete the offices of Elders and Deacons, as allowed by the Constitution of the Church.

If Wilson had any qualms about his temerity in starting this church of eight members in faraway Illinois, he showed none in his report to the Classis of New Brunswick in April, 1838. His report reads in part:

> I was kindly received not only by those from whom we had heard the Macedonian cry "Come over and help us," but from others who had removed from different places and made this their residence. I found the people anxious to hear the word.
>
> Whether the meeting was appointed for the day time or the evening, I always found a multitude convened for religious worship.
>
> After preaching a number of times to a large and respectable audience, considering the sparse and scattered population, I proceeded regularly to the organization of a church of Jesus Christ, consisting of eight members, 3 males and 5 females.

[7] The women were Adrian Groenendyke, Eliza Wyckoff, wife of John S. Wyckoff, Eliza Suydam Addis, Charity Van Nostrand, and Catherine Wyckoff, wife of Simon Wyckoff.

The persons who had been previously elected by the members were ordained as Elders and Deacon of the church, October 16, 1837.

The future prospect of this infant church if properly fostered by Classis or by the Board of Missions of General Synod is flattering. If a Minister can be settled among them, or placed there as a Missionary or stated supply; there is little doubt but through the blessing of God a large and efficient congregation can soon be gathered abundantly able to support the gospel ordinances among themselves not only, but to furnish aid to feeble churches.

The site of the contemplated church is in a growing village, the local pleasant and healthy, surrounded by rich and productive soil offering many inducements to those removing to that part of the country to settle there. To evince the zeal and spirit of this enterprise I need only say, that before I left the place and immediately after the organization of the church under the style and title of the Reformed Dutch Church of Fairview, the sum of One Thousand Dollars was raised by subscription for the erection of a house of worship. From subsequent information by letter, I have learned more has been added to that sum: Materials for the building are furnished on the ground, and contracts made to frame, raise and enclose the same. Provided a sufficient number of workmen can be obtained they are encouraged to hope that their house of worship will be completed by the first of October next.[8]

His report was accepted and the Classis resolved that the Fairview Church should be received under "the care and supervision" of the New Brunswick Classis, and recommended to member churches of the Classis "the Reformed Dutch Church of Fairview as claiming their prayers and pecuniary assistance in their efforts to build a house of worship."[9] At a special meeting of the Classis at North Branch, New Jersey, held on June 19, 1838, "to sever connections of A. D. Wilson with the church of North Branch," Wilson was authorized to "organize new churches in the West in communion with this Classis and the R. D. Church."

June, 1838, found Wilson on his way to Fairview. He

[8] Minutes, Classis of New Brunswick, April 4, 1838.
[9] *Ibid.*

traveled with his wife and seven children, the youngest not yet a year old, taking with him his own teams, wagons and household possessions.[10] The trip took seven weeks and must have been a trying experience for the mother of seven children, but I have found no record of the trip, and no reference to either the pleasures or the hardships attending it.

Wilson was an easterner by birth and education. Born at Amwell, New Jersey, on November 15, 1789, he was graduated from Queen's College in 1811 and the New Brunswick Theological Seminary in 1815.[11] His first call to preach had been from the united churches of Shawangunk and New Prospect in Ulster County, New York. He served these churches thirteen years, resigning in 1829 because of ill health.[12] After two years of rest at his old home in Hunterdon County, New Jersey, he accepted a call of the Reformed Church at North Branch. It was while serving here that he was sent to Fairview to organize the church, and it was this charge that he resigned to go to Illinois.

Wilson's faith in the village of Fairview was justified. By 1838 there had been considerable increase in population through migration. Henry B. Evans, the first merchant of the village, was joined by another, Peter Ten Eyck. The log schoolhouse in which the organization meeting of the church was held, had been built in early 1837 with Stockton Wyckoff as first teacher and Peter Pumyea as first treasurer. An academy had been built on Reformed Church property; it was taught

[10] Jerry P. Winter and Victor Maxam, *A History of the Classis of Illinois* (pamphlet, 1938), 3.

[11] E. T. Corwin, *A Manual of the Reformed Church in America, 1628-1902* (4th ed., New York, 1902), 914.

[12] His son thought that the disease was tuberculosis. However, there was never any other mention of it.

by S. S. Cornwell and had representatives of eleven families during its first year, 1838, and of twenty-two families during 1839, with five new names added in the spring term of 1840. The church followed soon after the schoolhouse, and when the pioneer minister arrived from the East, he was accompanied by a young doctor, J. V. D. Gaddis, the first in the village. Other signs of growth followed. J. C. Rockafellow set up a blacksmith shop; Selby Harney built a mill on Coal Creek north of Fairview in 1839, and S. B. Suydam built an ox mill in the village two years later. Two tailors and a hatter soon established themselves in Fairview, and by 1845 a tannery and a fanning mill factory had been added.

Thus a very few years saw rapid growth in Fairview, and it was during the earlier of these years that the church building was started. Wilson arrived with his family on July 1, 1838. On October 20, six new members were added to the eight charter members,[13] and on October 24, at a meeting of the Consistory, John C. Voorhees was chosen an elder and Cornelius S. Van Liew a Deacon, thus increasing the officers of the church to five. November 26, 1838, marked the laying of the cornerstone and raising of the frame. At this date there were no more than one hundred people living within a radius of five miles of the village, yet this handful of church people, fourteen in all, planned a church which would seat some six hundred people.[14] The church was similar to one at Six Mile Run in New Jersey and was to be forty-five by sixty-five feet in size. It was larger than

[13] The new members were John S. Voorhees and his wife, Rebecca VanderVeer Voorhees, Cornelius S. Van Liew, Mary Ann Patten Rockafellow, wife of Joseph Rockafellow, Elizabeth Bernbridge Wyckoff, wife of William Wyckoff, and Gertrude Wyckoff, their daughter.

[14] Winter and Maxam, *Classis of Illinois*, 3-4.

the county courthouse being built at Lewistown the same year. Mr. Wilson writes:

> Marvelous to behold is this Church built by these pioneers in that early time and in this new and undetermined country. Yet with this consistory of five which included all the Male Members, and were three less than the constitutional requirement of officers, and the Missionary Minister, the building of a church greater in magnitude than the Court House of the County was commenced.

The tremendous task of building the church—which lasted from November 26, 1838, when the frame was raised to October 3, 1841, when it was dedicated—could not have been accomplished by the small group of members alone, but fortunately there were others in the community who were anxious to have a church in the village, although not members themselves.[15] The entire neighborhood participated in the framing of the church, which took seven days. From that time on, work continued intermittently, depending largely on the amount of money accumulated for the purpose, which in turn was governed by the financial condition of the village itself. On one occasion the Consistory appointed the minister and Peter Pumyea to visit the churches in the East to solicit aid for the Fairview church. While they were in the East, the *Christian Intelligencer* carried an appeal for funds signed by the pioneer minister, which read in part:

> Could we be assisted to the amount of twelve or fifteen hundred dollars, we should not only be placed beyond the reach of embarrassment ourselves, but confidently believe that our success would lead to other similar enterprises in this region, which will in a very short time result in the organization of a Classis. This hope is grounded

[15] Some of those mentioned by name by Mr. Wilson were Peter Pumyea, Richard Davis, Daniel Groenendyke, Lawrence Williamson, S. V. Robinson, Edward Cox, Peter Ten Eyck, William Wyckoff, Henry B. Evans, Isaac Hagerman, H. H. Hartough, Richard Garretson, P. B. Van Arsdale, and Stogden Wyckoff.

on the fact that there are many groups of Dutch families in the State, whose character and influence, and whose feelings promise the establishment of several Dutch churches in this region. By their general department, and by keeping themselves entirely aloof from abolition and other exciting questions, they have secured to themselves and to their Church a large share of good will.[16]

Wilson and Pumyea returned in July, 1839, with $449. According to some sources this was the only outside help received by the Fairview church.[17] However, the minutes of the New Brunswick Classis for September 1, 1840, carried the following recommendation: "Recd that those churches wh. have not taken collections for the building of the church of Fairview be requested to do so," and it seems probable that some further contributions may have resulted from this suggestion.

Materials and labor were contributed by members and non-members alike, and gradually the work progressed. The summer of 1840 saw the windows in, some twenty-seven in all, and then the inside finishing was undertaken. When funds were again exhausted, five carpenters, Richard Garretson, Lawrence Williamson, S. V. Robinson, Michael Stout, and Isaac Hagerman, agreed to work with Cornelius Wyckoff who had the contract for finishing the inside work, at $1.25 a day, with the understanding that the price of the labor "shall remain in the empty treasury, until the Lord shall provide you with means wherewith to pay it; and if the Country and the Church fail, our labor shall perish with it." The expense of the sixty-four pews was met by members of the church, with the over-worked but ever-willing carpenters volunteering part of the labor.

At long last the church was ready for occupancy. The

[16] Vol. 9, no. 41 (May 4, 1839), 162.
[17] Winter and Maxam, *Classis of Illinois*, 3.

pioneer minister had held out hope in his report to the Classis in 1838 that it might be built within a year, but it had taken more than three years. In fact the dedication services were held on October 3, 1841, just four years after Wilson's first visit to Fairview for the purpose of organizing the church. It had started with eight members, gained six at the laying of the cornerstone, and ten more on the day of dedication. Thus the membership had reached twenty-four, ten men and fourteen women. It is indeed impressive to realize that this small group had been successful in completing the church building now being dedicated. That they were justified in building on so large a scale is shown by the fact that the church was filled to capacity for the dedication services. The country was being settled rapidly; no doubt the pioneer minister would find an ever-growing field for his services.

Worship in the new church was not a comfortable experience during the first winter, as only one of the four stoves needed to heat the building had been provided. But the people came, bringing their own foot stoves, their candles, candlesticks and snuffers from home. Sunday morning at the church must have presented an interesting and colorful scene, even though the worshippers were uncomfortable.

The years 1843-1845 were difficult ones for Fairview. Prices were low in 1843 and transportation charges high, wheat bringing only twenty-five to thirty cents when hauled to Canton or Peoria. A promising crop was destroyed by floods in the summer of 1844 and the winter of 1844-1845 found the people in greater poverty than at any time since they had moved west. "Hog and Hominy, rye coffee and corn bread were only luxuries," writes Mr. Wilson. However, conditions were improved

greatly by good crops in 1845; that year also saw increased migration to Fairview. The church responded to these changes, of course, and although the debt was still unpaid in 1846, at which time they issued new notes at six per cent interest, they managed to paint the church, the members furnishing most of the labor. Membership had grown to forty-two in 1845, and five years later had reached eighty-one. The winter of 1850-1851 witnessed a great revival in the church. According to Mr. Wilson:

> It was the custom of the pioneer minister to preach a sermon on Christmas day of each and every year; and if sufficient interest was manifested by the people to continue prayer and inquiry meetings during the holidays or longer if the spiritual interest demanded it.

This year the meetings continued for six weeks, with sixty-one members joining the church upon confession of faith. Five others joined by certificate during the year, making the astonishing total of sixty-six new members in one year. Even before this increase, the need for more space in the church had been felt and on September 3, 1850, a subscription paper was passed and $602 was subscribed for finishing the galleries. This involved the laying of floors, wainscoting and seating, all of which was completed by Christmas of 1850.

Wilson came to Illinois as a missionary, and in that capacity he did all he could to establish churches in the surrounding territory, although he sometimes found churches of better known denominations already there. He organized the second Reformed Church in Illinois in 1840. A group of people had settled in Peoria County, on the Illinois River, near the headwaters of Copperas Creek. They evidently welcomed the idea of a Reformed Church, and one was organized there by Wilson with

George G. Sill serving as the first minister. The church was called the Copperas or Brunswick Church. The third Reformed Church in Illinois, called VanderVeer, was established in 1841 in Menard County. Wilson traveled sixty miles between Fairview and this church before its organization, and afterwards until Alexander C. Hillman became pastor. "The name VanderVeer was given to the place in honor of the illustrious family of that name in the state of New Jersey, some of whom were represented in this Colony."

Even before the organization at VanderVeer was completed, and while busy supervising the building of the church at Fairview, Wilson initiated a project, the completion of which furnished a landmark in the history of the Dutch Reformed Church in the West—the formation of a Classis in Illinois. The minutes of the Particular Synod of New York for May, 1841, announced that a request for the formation of a Classis in Illinois had been received and turned over to a committee consisting of the Reverend Jon Van Liew, Isaac Ferris, D.D., and Elder Wortman. The committee made the following report:

> The Committee, to whom was referred a communication in relation to organization of a Classis in the State of Illinois, respectfully report—That there are at present two Reformed Dutch Churches in the State of Illinois, and there is a strong probability that a third will be constituted immediately upon the arrival of the Rev. Mr. Hillman.
>
> The Committee, deeming it highly important that a Classis should be organized in the State of Illinois, as soon as practicable, recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:
>
> Resolved, 1st. That as soon as a third Reformed Dutch Church shall be constituted in the State of Illinois, the Rev. Messrs. Wilson, Sill and Hillman, with the Elders of the several churches, regularly deputed for that purpose, be authorized to form themselves into a classis, to be styled the Classis of Illinois.

Resolved, 2d. That as soon as the Rev. Mr. Wilson shall be officially informed that a third Dutch Reformed Church has been constituted in the State of Illinois, he have power to summon a meeting for the organization of the above classis at Fairview, and that he preach the sermon on that occasion.[18]

After the formation of the VanderVeer church, therefore, Wilson called Hillman and Sill to meet with him at Fairview to consider forming a Classis of Illinois. They met for two days, the newer ministers being hesitant about taking such a serious step; but Wilson finally convinced them that the Classis should be formed, and the organization took place on November 13, 1841. Elder John G. Voorhees joined Wilson in representing Fairview; Hillman and Elder William Conover represented VanderVeer; and Sill and Elder Harmon G. Bostwick represented the Brunswick church. In accordance with the instructions given above, Wilson preached the sermon. The organization was duly reported to the Particular Synod the following May, the report declaring the need of the Classis for "the prayers and alms of its sister churches in the east, till it shall, by the blessing of God, acquire sufficient strength to sustain itself."[19]

Wilson's missionary endeavors did not cease with the formation of the Classis. He would go "wheresoever he heard of an open or prospective field." The difficulties of traveling from settlement to settlement were numerous. Wilson's son, who often accompanied his father to neighboring groups, writes:

Our guide for roads across the prairies then, was the pressing down of the tall grass, marking what we called trails. The grass on either side of these trails would in many places be almost or quite as high as the horses backs; and so thick that you could see a Deer but a short distance.

[18] *Minutes of the Particular Synod of New York, 1831-1850* (n.p., n.d.), 6-7.
[19] *Ibid.*, 11-12.

The churches of Brunswick and VanderVeer were each started with a nucleus of Dutch Reformed members from New Jersey. Such was not the case with the Pekin church, the fourth Reformed Church in Illinois. There the minister found it necessary to educate the prospective members to accept the doctrines and creeds of the Reformed Church. "This he found no easy task," writes the younger Wilson.

> Man of energy as he was he did not despair; but by relying for help on the great Head of the church, he now concentrated his efforts at Pekin until he gained the victory through the Lord Jesus Christ, and a church was organized there which a few months after was provided with a minister.

Some of the difficulties attending the work of the pioneer minister are illustrated by the following story of one of his many trips to Pekin, where he continued to preach until N. D. Williamson became pastor in the fall of 1843:

> As was usually the case it was dark when they reached the west bank of the river. The man having charge of the Ferry Boat had put up for the night on the Pekin side.
>
> By the voice was the only sign of communicating with the man in charge of the Ferry—The minister and Elder (John G. Voorhees) called into use their lung power, until finally they have communication with the man on the other side in charge of the boat. When their wants are thus made known, the man rowed his boat over; when they drove their horses on and were safely carried to the other side.
>
> The price charged for ferrying was fifty cents. When the Minister and Elder went down into their pockets to look for the necessary funds, it was found that they were both minus the lucre to pay the ferryman.
>
> The Boatman naturally was angry, and commenced a tirade of abuse, charging them with being dishonest and swindlers. After his passion was somewhat subdued, the Minister told the man who he was, and what was his mission.
>
> He told him where he would preach on the morrow, this being

Saturday night, inviting him to come out and hear him preach, promising him the preaching would cost him nothing, and if on Monday morning he would again row them over to the west shore, when he returned in four weeks he should have his pay. This pacified the man. . . .

On the next day the Sabbath (as I have heard this related by the Minister) unexpectedly and very much to the surprise of the good Dominie, he noticed the Boatman sitting in the audience paying marked attention to his sermon. Never afterward would this ferryman when he was in charge of the Boat, receive any pay for conveying him to and fro across the river.

The organization of the fifth Dutch Reformed Church in Illinois was directly due to the increased migration from New Jersey. Mr. Wilson writes:

In these early days the settlement of Fairview was widely known among the people in the State of New Jersey.

Whenever referred to in this country by native or emigrant, it was called the Jersey settlement.

Because of this appellation given, a large percentage of the emigrants from that state came here because of their acquaintance with some of the people, or because in their native state it was known as a Jersey settlement. As the result, the years 1850-51-52 and 53 brought to this section of the Country an overplus of emigration, and some of them sought other fields for their permanent location. The vast prairies of the state were very fast being settled up. Great lines of railway were being projected and built across them; and to those prairies the people flock, seeking new homes.

As land around Fairview was taken up by new people coming in, a group of Fairview people left for Spring-Lake, where a small New Jersey settlement already existed. The families of Golden, Stout, Henry Rynearson, George B. Van Nortwick, John Hagaman and Littlejohn were among those moving to Spring Lake in Tazewell County, and although not church members themselves, they sent an appeal to the Fairview church, and Wilson went to them, preaching first in the log schoolhouse. The Reverend S. V. E. Westfall, pastor of the

church at Pekin, also preached at Spring Lake and was appointed by the Classis to organize a Reformed Church there, which he did on May 28, 1854. Westfall and Wilson continued to preach there until the following year when Samuel A. Sumstead became pastor.

Two other churches—at Raritan and Bushnell—were considered direct daughters of the Fairview church, the first because of membership, the second because of Wilson's efforts. The Raritan church in Henderson County was established on August 26, 1855. All save three of the thirteen charter members were former members of the Fairview church. The Bushnell church in McDonough County was organized by Wilson in 1856, and he preached there irregularly for two years until a pastor arrived.

Wilson resigned his pastorate at Fairview in 1856. The only minister of the church since its founding almost twenty years before, it is not surprising that there was some criticism of his methods and some desire for change. When Wilson realized this he offered his resignation, on April 11, 1856, which was accepted at the next meeting of the Consistory. Wilson had the interests of his congregation so much at heart that, unknown to them, he went to New Jersey in search of a minister. Among others he met William Anderson of Peapack and, impressed by his qualifications, urged him to visit Fairview. This Anderson did, meeting the people and preaching to them. Later, he accepted the call to preach there and thus became the second minister of the Fairview church.

Wilson left his church in a flourishing condition. The original eight members had grown to 178. Of these forty-two had moved away, leaving a membership of 136 in

the home church. With the coming of the new pastor the church passed from its primitive stage to a more sophisticated one. With the new minister came new manners and more fashionable clothing, along with other changes resulting from improved transportation, increased migration and more prosperous times. Conditions as they had been are recorded by the son of the pioneer minister as follows:

When Mr. Anderson took charge of the Church, the average congregation was large. Many of the families lived miles away in country homes, but when the Sabbath came they left these rural homes and wended their way to the house of worship.

Church going was part of their duties in life, and it was as natural for them to repair to their Church on sabbath morning as on a week day morn to their farm duties. . . .

Their pioneer pastor was plain and practical like themselves. He had stood by them in the thickest of the fray, through all their years of struggling hardships. . . .

The preaching of the minister like his life, was the plain Orthodox style of that day, without formality or attempted display. He preached the vengeance of God resting upon Man because of disobedience, and by the terrors of the law he tried to persuade sinners to return to him through the loving Christ.

He taught their children the doctrines contained in the Catechism of the Church, and the older children and Members were examined as to the Faith and Knowledge of the holy scriptures, by a regular Bible class service.

Such had been the preaching, and the instruction of the people, through all the pioneer history of the Church.

The pioneer minister served his church and community well. When he came to Fairview the people provided him with a house but he refused, saying:

No, I will not accept it. I came not among you in your feeble condition to be ministered unto, but to minister. Here for weal or woe, I have come to raise the standard of the cross of Christ, and with you I will stay. Your portion shall be my portion, your God shall be my God, your destiny as yet untried in this wilderness field

shall be my destiny. And here with you I will share your burdens and build my own home, trusting the Lord to provide for me and mine.[20]

Accordingly, Wilson built his home across from the church and bought a tract of land near the village where he worked with his sons when not busy with ministerial duties. His home, wrote the son, "was the home of the visitor. His house was a free tavern open to all settlers who were seeking locations, and he used his influence to get them to locate within the boundaries of his Church." Evidently he was sometimes criticized for spending too much time on his farm, for the son makes the following defense:

> And I know whereof I speak when I say, that Dominie Wilson never for one moment neglected his Ministerial duties on account of being compelled to labor with his own hands that his family might have sustenance.
>
> On the other hand his farm labor was often neglected for Church work. Many and oft-times, when preaching in his work of organizing churches, would he take a team from the farm in the appointments, losing the work of the team from the farm on Saturday and Monday.

With a family of seven children and a salary which did not exceed $200 for many years, it is understandable that he might need to spend some time on his own farm.

Wilson lived in Fairview twenty years after his retirement. He refused to accept another pastorate but for years substituted in surrounding churches whenever called. He died on July 21, 1876. Fairview had grown from a tiny settlement of a few log houses and a log schoolhouse to a flourishing community, and the church he had founded with the help of eight members had become a strong and prosperous one. His early faith in the western adventure was justified.

[20] Winter and Maxam, *Classis of Illinois*, 3.

HISTORICAL NOTES

TO ILLINOIS IN 1811

The following journal of an unidentified traveler from Pennsylvania is published through the courtesy of Mr. Everett D. Graff, Winnetka, owner of the original manuscript. The writer's somewhat erratic spelling and punctuation have been retained, except that the original has been divided into sentences.—*Editor.*

Departed from Urbana [Ohio] on the 5th of October 1811. Went through Cincinnato & crossed the Ohio below the mouth of Licking Ri[ver] in Kaintucky. Traveled what is called the Ridge road which is hilly—stony & thin Limestone Land. No watter can be obtained for horces on the Ridge which is 45 miles in length. West of the ridge the land is somewhat better. Eagle-Creek which runs some Short distance from this extremity of the Ridge heads in the country of Lexington and falls into the Kaintucky River 9 miles from its junction with the Ohio R. The country about Eagle Creek is verry Broken & stony and in travelling on you pass through verry broken land in thinly settled [area] till you cross the N and South Elkhorn 4 miles from Frankfort which emties into Kaintucky. R. 12 miles below Frankfort. Here the Land is hilly and stony but well settled.

Frankfort—the seat of government for the state of Kaintucky is situate on the East bank of the Kaintucky. R. [It is] but an indifferant place situate on a small flat surrounded by vast hills. Over this River is thrown a floating Bridge. In leaving Frankfort you pass through a better country and much better inhabited when you arrive at Shelbyvill in 22 miles ride. This place is situate on the West bank of Clear creek. Contains a number of houses and Some tolerable good. You pass on from thence to Middle Town and so on through a beautifull country lying on beargrass Cr to Louisville at the Falls of Ohio which is 30 miles.

Louisville contains a number of houses & some of them truly eligant; after tarrying Several days in Louisville I crossed the Ohio

and having crossed the knobs followd the course of a small stream called Indian Creek to Corendon [Corydon] the seat of Justice for Harrison Cty Indianna Territory. This place is but new and contains only 4 or 5 houses which are very indifferant. 7 miles from this place on Blue. R. I was weell intertained at a Mr Heths where I staid 10 or twelve Days then persued my rout. 6 miles from corridon I crossed a very beautifull Stream about as large as little Beaver on which the governor has mills. Blue. R. is about 5 miles from this. [It] is a stream as large as Neshanie which runs into the ohio about 30 miles below its falls. The country on from this to the East fork of White. R. is very hilly but well timbered.

Petoka [is] a small creek 25 miles from coridon. This stream runs North-west and empties into the Wabash about 25 miles below Vincennes. Licking Cr 35 miles from Petoka Cr same as Mad. R. From thence to East fork of White. R. 15 miles this stream is as large a[s] Shenango. West fork of White. R. heads near Greenville is as large as the East Fork and is a most beautifull stream & on it there is very beautifull Land. The confluance of these two Rivers is about 40 miles from the Wabash. The East fork heads near Whitewater Cr in part & part near the ohio. R.

You cross the West fork on a solid rock. You now begin to travel through vast fiealds of natural meadow which the further you ride the further they extend. From the last mentioned stream to Vincennes is 15 miles.

Vincenes is situate on the East Bank of the Greate[r] Wabash and in the midst of a beautiful pairairae [prairie]. The houses are numorous, but in general very mean being principally of the french Structure which are made generally by sinking posts in the ground, and filling the vacancies with mud. Wabash. R. is a beautifull stream very commodious, watters a very considerable tract of country and is perhaps 150 yds wide. About 20 miles from Vincenes on the Wabash is a society of shaking Quaquales [Shaking Quakers or Shakers]. Embrio. [Embarrass] R. in the Ellenoy. T. [Illinois Territory] is about 60 yds broad and is 6 miles from G. Wabash. Land very indifferant. From Embrio, to L[ittle] Wabash is 45 miles. Stream very small excep in the times of floods when it over flows its Banks intirely.

From little Wabash to Selean [Saline] Creek is 22 miles. Perairea land intirely and thin But quite leval. From the little Wabash to

Ochoa [Okaw] is 70 miles and in that distance there is but one house. The ochoa, is a pleasant Stream perhaps 40 yds wide and on its Banks there is good land and well timbered. It is this same Streame that empties into the Massipi [Mississippi] at Caskaskia and there is [it] goes by the name of the Kaskaskia River. Five Miles further you cross Stinking Creek which does not ill deserve the name it has receaved. It is 5 miles from this stream to Shoal Cr. and from thence to Sugar Cr. is 8 miles. On all of those Creeks there is good land but it is Sickly.

You then take the Bluff and travel through a settled country to the Massissipy River which pores along hir sandy Bed with great magisty. Kahoca [Cahokia] is situate on the East side of the Massicipa. One mile from its bank three miles higher up, on the West bank, stands St Louis a large and handsome place. Houses chieafly french but some verry stately. Twenty miles above St Louis the Misoury pours out hir watters with great impetuosity into the Massicipa and changes the colour of the watter for thirty miles. Immediately at the Junction of these two Rivers there is situate a french Village which the inhabytants call Poart-ash di sue [Portage des Sioux]. St Charles lies [on] the West Bank of the Misoury immediately on the bank of the River, 12 miles from Portash de sue, and 20 miles from S. Louis. St Charles is a french Village and concists of a number of houses situate on one street which Street from its commencement to its termination is about 2 miles. The inhabitants in general are very poor and half Indian blooded. There is a Cort of Judicature established here. The River Apron discharges its self into Massipa 8 miles below St Louis and the Marimac R. 20 miles below St Louis in upper Louisiana Territory.

READERS' REMINISCENCES

DAVENPORT, IOWA
April 3, 1943

Editor, Journal of Illinois State Historical Society
Centennial Building
Springfield, Illinois

DEAR SIR:

Thank you for running Mr. Bunn's fine Chatterton article in the current *Journal* of the Society. It gave me an attack of nostalgia for

similar scenes and persons around the old Burtis in Davenport beginning with my first day in the town—Nov. 25, 1901. In fact, I rattled over here from Galesburg in same car with a troupe headed by Robt. Edeson and Frank Campau ("Arizona") and saw the show the same night. I can still see Campau spinning and then falling flat on his face after being drilled through the heart by one of Edeson's bullets. For 20 years followed the whole retinue and galaxy of stars mentioned in the Bunn article and I never missed one of them. Before becoming a member of the capitalist class I sat in the balcony. Later moved down to the "dress circle" (*circa* 1910) which had always been occupied by the elitty of the 3 towns, especially the Deere tribes from Moline, always in full evening dress.

Our principal interest however was the expression on faces of the stars when a Rock Island freight train would roar across the *corner of the stage*. A fact! And the trains always rushed by at the most inopportune time, naturally—drowning out everything else on the stage. Completely, and for what seemed to be an hour at a time. And at times disrupting the whole show. Once this happened just as the temperamental Mansfield was on the verge of one of his greatest moments in a certain play; I can still see him turn green with rage, boil with indignation, stop his lines sharply, and order the curtain rung down. Otis Skinner was not so ornery, neither was David Warfield nor Walker Whiteside. Once Jim Hackett and Mary Mannering were beginning a hot love scene on a warm spring night (rear doors all open), when No. 721, a through-freight & stock-train from Omaha, came rushing along and nearly crashed onto the stage and the bower where the lovers were ensconced; Hackett's protestations of devotion were swallowed up by the grunts of hogs en-route to Swift & Co., so the gents in the society section adjourned to the Kimball Bar. The nigger-heaven lads scurried across Perry St. to the old Atlantic Saloon opposite, until the squealing had died away and Hackett could do his lip-smacking in peace again.

Mansfield consented to come back again in "J. Caesar," doubtless hoping there would be a strike of conductors, firemen and railway engineers on at the time of his engagement. Down in the program was the name of an actor named "Clarence Cochran." I waited 1½ hours, or until Act VIII, Scene 46, for the feller to come out and

do his stuff. He turned out to be a guard on duty outside the tent of Brutus, I guess it was, muttered a few words to his boss in a gutteral tone and disappeared—possibly went out and sat on the railroad tracks and smoked a Sweet Caporal, until time for him to rustle the scenery and the trunks out of the loading door on to the platform.

What of the old theatre's last night? Well, I know. Old Doc or Professor Flint had packed them in for a whale of a Sunday night session, and maybe a spark had emerged from his wizardry or his name; anyhow, about midnight the old place was found to be aflame from basement to dome and from stage entrance to the main doors. Gutted entirely. Gone with the wind. But the old-time owner-manager still lives—Charles T. Kindt, aged 82 and looking around 68. Only the other night I took him to see the Hurok Russian Ballet. We went an hour early so as to get a front row seat in a modern movie emporium which made Charlie weep in anger, by comparison with a house that *really* had some acoustics in it. Between scenes he gossiped with a bassoon player from N'Yawk. The performance thrilled him—and on thanking me for the entertainment he said, "Clarence, I never expected to see the like of this again!"

I can say the same of the shows put on at the Old Burtis.

Sincerely,

CLARENCE M. COCHRANE

DANVILLE, ILLINOIS
April 13, 1943

Editor, Journal of Illinois State Historical Society
Centennial Building
Springfield, Illinois

DEAR EDITOR:

Mr. Bunn's article and Clarence Cochrane's letter regarding the old Burtis bring a flock of memories of the dear old days when I gypsied over the country. In my first season—the time when I was a proud half-owner of the Gordon Bigger Comedy Company (my rottenest offering)—I played Rock Island (Harper's), Bert Woodyett's Moline house (the Armory) and Davenport's Grand (Turner Hall) and later on two Sundays again invaded Davenport—these times at the Burtis with the same old barnstorming crowd, but with

other names as a "Special New York Cast." In those days it was possible to call at Express offices and get special paper for certain companies that had left New York with happy hearts only to get stranded in the sticks. The billing had been sent ahead and the express people always were happy to dispose of the bundle for the price of the shipping charge. Hence the deception. If memory serves me right on one of the special Davenport appearances it was paper telling of the coming of Hal Reid's "Human Hearts." On that occasion we did not have the script but gave them "Angie, the Country Girl," under the new name. It was great—bucolic and tear jerking, as Angie died in the last act, still good and pure, and the saver of the family homestead.

It was that first season when I appeared at the Old Chatterton for "one week only." It was in August—and hot as hell. We opened in "Justice at Last," our first rendition of the "Great New York Success." Of course the special cast stumbled through the lines and it was 11:30 before the suffering audience—a packed crowd—got relief. With the curtain I wandered to the front of the house to hear any comments from the pay patrons. I was hopeful as are managers that the reception would be favorable. But I heard but one statement and then slunk up the alley to the stage door. "My land," said one lady to another, "it was getting so late I was scared that Geraldine never would get justice."

Sincerely,
Clint Clay Tilton

THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

FROM A SOLDIER'S DIARY

Sergt. Major Dowdy returned from home last night, and I gladly return to Co. "K" again, having served as Sergt. Maj. just ten days.

Rev. Milsaps also returned from a furlough visit. They say that the people at home hardly realize that there is war in the land. They are absorbed in accumulating the almighty dollar, and are seemingly indifferent to the privations and sacrifices of the boys in the army.

Let them come down into the land of Dixie, eat nothing but hard tack and sow belly and be allowed but one half and sometimes but one fourth rations; let them sleep on the hard, cold ground, become drenched in rain, or sufficated with dust. Let them meet the enemy on the bloody field, lose an arm or a leg and suffer all the excruciating tortures of hunger, thirst and fatigue—and their apathy would disappear to be succeeded by a keen sense of their duty to a common country.

Oct. 1, 1863. Diary of L. A. Ross, Co. K., 86th Illinois Volunteer Infantry (MS in Ill. St. Hist. Lib.).

"SMASHES WORLD'S RECORD FOR CONTINUOUS FLIGHT"

Boeing, "Flying Fortress:" Maximum speed 325 m.p.h. . . . Normal range 2,100 miles. Cruising range at operational height with maximum fuel and reduced bomb load 3,500 miles.—Janes' All the World's Aircraft, 1941.

Making a spiral descent from an altitude of 2,000 feet and alighting with a gentle sweep like a graceful bird, the intrepid aviator, Walter S. Brookins, landed at the state fair grounds at 4:27 yesterday afternoon in a Wright Bros. biplane, completed the trip from Chicago with but two stops in 7 hours and 12 seconds, won the $10,000 Record-Herald prize and smashed the world's record for continuous flight.

The previous record was 182 miles, made by Louis Poulhan, from Manchester, England, to London.

Brookins yesterday traveled 192 miles.

The record for sustained flight is held by Glenn H. Curtiss, making 141 miles without a stop from Albany to New York.

Brookins started from Chicago yesterday morning at 9:15 o'clock and after eighty miles of continuous flight, stopped at Gilman for gasoline.

He was delayed at Gilman from 11:30 a.m. until 12:44 p.m., having made the first eighty miles in two hours and fifteen minutes.

Leaving Gilman at 12:44 he arrived at Mt. Pulaski at 3:20, making the eighty-eight miles of the second leg of the trip in two hours and thirty-six minutes.

Leaving Mt. Pulaski at 3:44, he arrived in Springfield at 4:27, making the last twenty-four miles of the trip in forty-three minutes.

The total elapsed time was seven hours and twelve minutes.

The actual time in flight was five hours and forty-four minutes, and the average speed about thirty-three miles an hour.

Illinois State Register, Sept. 30, 1910.

HISTORIC LEASE

Probably one of the most unusual instruments on file at the county recorder's office in Rock Island is a lease from the Moline, East Moline and Watertown Railway Company to the late William A. Meese, a Moline lawyer, for property on Campbell's Island. The lease, drawn by B. F. Peek, now president of Deere & Co., was filed Dec. 12, 1905, when Mr. Peek was the railway company's lawyer.

The lease describes the property leased to Mr. Meese as follows:

Beginning at a point in the trail of Lieutenant Campbell taken when pursued by one Black Hawk on the 19th of July, 1814, thence double on said trail and run back to the point of intersection with the path of said B. Hawk and his warriors after their capture of a barrel of firewater on the date aforesaid, thence zig-zag along said path in the manner of the aforesaid B. Hawk and band, to a point where a flock of bluejays sat near a sycamore tree, thence follow the flight of said B. Hawk to the point where, foreseeing that his biography would be written by said party of the second part, he buried the hatchet and gave up the ghost, reference being had for greater uncertainty to the history of said occurence as written by the party of the second part.

Mr. Meese wrote and published in brochure form the history of Campbell's Island and also wrote at length concerning Black Hawk. . . . Mr. Meese, under terms of the instrument leased four acres of ground and a bungalow built by Charles Deere on the northwest portion of the island. It later was deeded to him.

Moline Dispatch, Feb. 5, 1943.

PORTRAIT OF A PIONEER

In his moccasins, Kelly[1] stood five feet and eleven inches high, with an erect, well contracted and sinewy frame, capable of undergoing all kinds of hardships. His complexion was of that sallow, sunburnt hue, peculiar to back-woodsman; his head rather small and cone shaped; features sharp and angular; hair and beard long, sandy, and uncombed. His countenance was one of such marked and settled gravity that from it, as Charles Lamb would say, Newton might have deducted the law of gravitation. His manners were simple yet reticent, and his style of speech laconic, being for the most part restricted to the use of monosyllables. In fact, he was the very antipode of the garrulous and inquisitive Yankees, whom he ever viewed with a jealous eye. His ordinary attire consisted of a raccoon skin cap with the tail dangling down his back, a butternut jeans or buckskin hunting shirt trimmed with fringe and pewter buttons, a pair of deer-skin trowsers strapped tight about his ankles, and moccasins after the Indian fashion. Around his waist he wore a leathern girdle, fastened with a large wooden button, in which was inserted a long hunter's knife and tomahawk. In his breast pocket he carried a twist of homemade "tobaccer," and a small cob-pipe with an elder or goose-quill stem. Some of his contemporaries, however, were wont to smoke clay pipes with cane stems, but this he deemed a little too aristocratic.

On a near approach to Kelly's person, it was observed that his left eye seemed smaller than the right. This apparent difference in the appearance of his visual orbs is believed to have been caused by his winking more with his left than with his right eye. Another peculi-

[1] John Kelly, first settler on the site of Springfield. The first election in the newly created county of Sangamon was held early in 1821 "at the house of John Kelly on Spring Creek." Kelly built the cabin that served as the county's first courthouse, and received $47.50 for his work.

arity was, that when his temper became aroused at any one, he not unfrequently kicked with his left foot. He was also much given to loud snoring in his sleep, which, it is said, greatly disturbed the slumbers of his loving spouse. In walking, he stepped very high, something after the manner of a blind horse. This ungainly habit he was thought to have contracted in hunting, for his keen eye would be intently fixed on game, he invariably lifted his pedal appendages high, lest they should become entangled with the long grass or wild pea vines, and thus cause him to measure his length on the ground.

Illinois State Journal, May 13, 1869.

ILLINOIS ECONOMICS A CENTURY AGO

1. Farms, somewhat improved, are almost daily exchanging owners, and a considerable spirit of enterprise has been awakened within a year or two past. The prices of farms and improvements vary greatly, and are influenced much by factitious and local circumstances. From St. Clair county, northward, they average, probably, from five to ten dollars per acre, and are rising in value. In some counties, farms will cost from two to five dollars per acre. A *farm* in Illinois, however, means a tract of land, much of it in a state of nature, with some cheap, and, frequently, log-buildings; with twenty, forty, sixty, eighty or one hundred acres, fenced and cultivated. Good dwellings of brick, stone or wood, begin to be erected. Among the old residents, there have been but few barns built.

The want of adequate supplies of lumber, and of mechanics, renders good buildings more expensive than in the new counties of New England or New York.

2. Merchants' goods, groceries, household furniture and almost every necessary and comfort in house-keeping, can be purchased here; and many articles retail at about the same prices as in the Atlantic States.

3. The following table will exhibit the cost of three hundred and twenty acres of land, at Congress price, and preparing one hundred and sixty acres for cultivation or prairie land:

Cost of 320 acres, at $1.25 per acre,	$ 400
Breaking up 160 acres prairie, at $2 per acre,	320
Fencing it into four fields, with a Kentucky fence of eight rails high, with cross stakes,	175
Cabins, corn-cribs, stable, &c.,	250
Making the cost of the farm,	$1145

In many instances, a single crop of wheat will pay for the land, for fencing, breaking up, cultivating, harvesting, threshing, and taking to market.

4. All kinds of mechanical labor, especially in the building line, are in great demand; even very coarse and common workmen get almost any price they ask. Journeymen mechanics get $2 per day. A carpenter or brick mason wants no other capital, to do first-rate business, and soon become independent, than a set of tools, and habits of industry, sobriety, economy and enterprise.

5. Common laborers on a farm obtain from $12 to $15 per month, including board. Any young man, with industrious habits, can begin here without a dollar, and in a very few years become a substantial farmer. A good cradler in the harvest-field, will earn from $1.50 to $2 per day.

John M. Peck, *Guide for Emigrants* (1843), 317-19.

NEWS AND COMMENT

Abraham Lincoln, most Americans believe, was impecunious to a fault. He grew up in straitened circumstances, if not in poverty; he failed in business at New Salem; he was far more interested in law as a means of securing justice than as a source of wealth; and after his death his widow appealed to Congress for a pension.

These specific allegations are all true, but the general inference drawn from them is false. That is clearly proved by one of the most important Lincoln books to appear in recent years, *The Personal Finances of Abraham Lincoln*, by Harry E. Pratt.[1] Using source materials almost exclusively, the author presents the first detailed, authoritative account of Lincoln's income, expenditures, and investments. The result will surprise almost everyone. After an initial period of poverty, Lincoln's income was not only sufficient to enable his family to live in comfort; it was large enough so that he was able to invest substantial sums in notes and mortgages. Dr. Pratt estimates that Lincoln was worth $15,000 at the time of his election to the Presidency—a sum which represented a much greater accumulation then than it would now. In the Presidency, his estate grew so rapidly—he saved much of his salary and invested his savings in government bonds—that David Davis, his administrator, was able to distribute $110,000 to his heirs in 1867. Abraham Lincoln was not impecunious. He made no fetish of money, but he was not indifferent to it. He made every reasonable effort to obtain adequate compensation for his services, and he safeguarded his earnings with care.

The Personal Finances of Abraham Lincoln is not only an excellent piece of research and writing; it is also that very great rarity, a truly new book about Lincoln.

Lincoln and the Patronage, by Harry J. Carman and Reinhard H. Luthin,[2] is a fine piece of historical spadework. Everyone who has

[1] Abraham Lincoln Assn., Springfield, Ill. $3.50.
[2] Columbia University Press. $4.50.

progressed beyond the first grade in Lincoln studies knows that Lincoln handed out the offices to the politically deserving, but no one has known in detail who got what and why. Messrs. Carman and Luthin supply that information.

The thoroughness of the research that went into *Lincoln and the Patronage* compels admiration. The authors have combed manuscript collections in dozens of repositories; they have ferreted biographical facts from all sorts of obscure places. As a result, their book is not only the study its title indicates; it is also a kind of *Who's Who* for the Republican Party from 1860 to 1865.

Lincoln and the Patronage will dismay readers who insist upon looking at Lincoln as a governmental paragon. Such readers should remember that in his time the winners always turned the rascals out. They should also remember that Lincoln had great ends to achieve, and that the distribution of patronage was one of his most effective instruments in attaining them.

The *Chicago Tribune* will reach its one hundredth year in 1947. Several years ago, looking forward to that date, it undertook the preparation of a detailed history of its first century. Volume One of that history—*The Chicago Tribune: Its First Hundred Years*, by Philip Kinsley[3]—has just been published. The final volume—how many there will be has not been announced—will appear in 1947.

Mr. Kinsley has chosen to make this first volume largely a chronicle—almost a day to day record of events and editorial comments. There are themes, however, and it is appropriate that the career of Lincoln should be one of them. As a delegate to the Chicago River and Harbor Convention in 1847, his name appears on the second page; the book ends with the comments of the *Tribune's* editors on his assassination.

The Lincoln theme, and other lesser themes, are amplified by the results of research in sources other than the *Tribune* files, and there are frequent references to what one might call the financial and mechanical history of the paper. In the main, however, this first volume is a summary of the principal events of eighteen critical years as the *Tribune* recorded them.

[3] Knopf. $5.00.

The Illinois State Museum is the publisher of a handsome atlas issued as Part One of a publication entitled *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country*.[4] The atlas, in portfolio form, is described as "the first of two volumes relating to the early days of contact between Indian and White in the Illinois area. The atlas presents those maps which show the increasing knowledge of the territory, of the river courses, and the location of Indian tribes and villages. The second volume will contain a discussion of the story that the maps tell about Illinois, translations of important documents, and an attempt to visualize the conditions under which the original data were accumulated."

Forty-four maps, beautifully reproduced (one in color), are included in the atlas. Each map is accompanied by a bibliographical description and a brief statement of its historical significance.

"I write of the days of the pioneers—not out upon our prairies but in the big raw cities where the America of today was made."

Thus Ernest Poole introduces *Giants Gone*,[5] his book of men who made Chicago. Stature they had, and energy and vision—Long John Wentworth, Joseph Medill of the *Tribune*, Cyrus McCormick, Potter Palmer, Marshall Field, Jane Addams of Hull House, Theodore Thomas, creator of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, and William Rainey Harper, builder of the University of Chicago—to name only half of Mr. Poole's selection. His sketches, admittedly, are far from encyclopedic; for instead of writing neat biographies he attempted to convey the essential characteristics of his subjects, to reveal the driving force that made each the giant that he was.

Giants Gone is an interesting book. Its author, however, would hardly be content with that comment. Of his characters he wrote in his Preface: "All belonging to the days when men were still free to build and rise, grab and grow, without restraint, many were ruthless hard go-getters and unscrupulous in their ways of shoving all obstacles aside. Yet they had other qualities which most of us at present lack and which this country needs today, bold vision, buoyant courage and deep tireless vitality." If those qualities can

[4] Illinois State Museum, Springfield. $3.00.
[5] Whittlesey House. $2.75.

be generated or stimulated by books, *Giants Gone* should not be without effect.

Elizabeth Duffner was born on a farm near Jacksonville in 1863. She went to country and parochial schools and then to business college; obtained a teacher's certificate, taught school for several years, and then married John Flynn, a neighboring farmer. The young couple prospered and reared a large family. Today, at eighty, Elizabeth Flynn is still active and able to write to one of her children: "I think that in writing of our founding a home, rearing and giving in marriage and religion our entire family of ten men and women, I have told you the whole story of our life's work. We have enjoyed the struggle and have no regrets."

With Love From Mother[6] is the story of Elizabeth Flynn, told with charm and discrimination by Sister Maureen Flynn, one of her daughters. It is, of course, a family book, yet it has historical interest. Changing ways of life for seventy-five years are so faithfully pictured that the social historian will find it of no little value.

Danville Junction, located in the northeastern part of the city of Danville, Illinois, was located at the intersection of the Wabash, two divisions of the Big Four, and two divisions of the Chicago and Eastern Illinois railroads. There, for many years, thousands of passengers "changed cars;" there were located busy stations, division offices, hotels, and restaurants. Now, with the local passenger train almost a memory, Danville Junction is only a half-forgotten name.

A few, however, remember it as it was in its glory, forty or fifty years ago. Among the number are Cary Clive Burford and Guy McIlvaine Smith, and out of their recollections, supplemented by research, they have made a book, *The History and Romance of Danville Junction*.[7] Mr. Burford sets the stage historically with an account of the history of railroads in eastern Illinois and of Danville Junction; Mr. Smith, in easy, informal reminiscences, introduces the players—the railroaders, the hotel and restaurant keepers, the "drummers,"

[6] Privately Printed. Sister Maureen Flynn, O.P., Springfield, Ill.
[7] Interstate Printers and Publishers, Danville, Ill. $2.00.

the traveling actors, the great and near-great who passed through Danville Junction in the years when to travel meant to travel by train.

In outline, the story of Danville Junction is the story of many another railroad transfer point. It is also the story of American railroads when passenger travel reached levels it will never again approach. Messrs. Burford and Smith, however, have given their book an even greater range, for in it they have caught and pictured the common American in occupations and amusements almost as remote from the present as if three hundred years, instead of thirty, had intervened.

The Middle West, so many believe, is new. But is it? White men first traversed it 270 years ago, and for well over two and a half centuries they have lived within its borders. One community has had a continuous existence since 1699.

That is Cahokia, the old French town adjacent to the modern city of East St. Louis. Once it was one of the two centers of population in Illinois; today it is almost, but not quite, a deserted village. Within it, however, are reminders of its past—the old church (built in 1799), the mansion of Nicholas Jarrot, and the old courthouse, now a state memorial.

Cahokia's story is the subject of a recent brochure by Adolph B. Suess of East St. Louis, *The Romantic Story of Cahokia, Illinois*.[8] Mr. Suess's work is not a detailed history, but it does give, in conveniently brief form, the essentials of the town's history, and something about the priests and citizens whose names are associated with it.

The museum of the Aurora Historical Society is now open to the public every Wednesday and Sunday from 2:30 until 5:00. Groups desiring to be conducted through the museum on other days or evenings may make special arrangements by calling the curator, Alice Applegate.

The Aurora Historical Society, organized in 1906, is one of the oldest organizations in the city. Its present officers are: Marion R.

[8] The author. Cloth, $1.50; paper, $1.00.

Strossman, first vice-president (acting as president); Charles P. Burton, second vice-president; Mrs. Walter A. Buell, secretary; LeGrande T. Fowler, treasurer; Clarence R. Smith, museum director; Alice Applegate, curator; William F. Fowler, Lorin Hill, John F. Holslag, T. J. Merrill, William Meyers, George Simpson, Dan Volentine, Frank Weisgerber, and Glenn R. Wortman, directors.

A program honoring General Stephen Hurlbut, Belvidere's Civil War leader, was presented at the March meeting of the Boone County Historical Society. Mrs. Edward G. Davis related various episodes in the life of General Hurlbut, and William Bowley and William Richardson described their activities in the funeral exercises which were held for the General in Belvidere in 1882.

At the May meeting, members of the Society heard Willis Griffeth describe the early days of the stonemason trade. The June meeting was devoted to a discussion of the World's Columbian Exposition. The golden anniversary of the Chicago fair is being observed by many other organizations this year.

The Halliday Hotel in Cairo, famous as the Civil War headquarters of General U. S. Grant and as an underground railway station for escaping slaves, was destroyed by fire on February 22. The five-story building was erected in 1857-1859. The bar and the room occupied by General Grant had been preserved as they were in Civil War days.

Service men who happened to be home on leave on May 16 were honored guests at the sixth annual meeting of the Chicago Lawn Historical Society, held at the Chicago Lawn Library. Pictures, cippings, posters, and other exhibits relating to World War I and World War II were on display. Veterans of the first war were hosts on this occasion, and members of the Chicago Lawn Young Woman's Club served as hostesses and presided at the tea tables. Richard O. Helwig is president of the Society and Mrs. Frank H. Richards is honorary life president.

A program built around the Parkside section of the South Shore (Chicago) was planned for the February meeting of the South Shore Historical Society. Miss Esther Nelson, chairman, arranged a program in which Mrs. Louis Draeger, John Pedderson, Enoch Peterson, and Charles B. Wickliffe took part. The social hour preceding the meeting was in charge of Mrs. Ella F. Divine, social chairman.

The Singing Grandmothers, a chorus of thirty women ranging in age from thirty-nine to seventy-nine, furnished music for the ninth annual meeting of the Ravenswood-Lake View Historical Association (Chicago) on April 8. Also included on the program were a speech by C. B. James, "Looking Back on the Eighties" and a stereoptican talk on "Old Ravenswood and Lake View" by Helen Zatterberg. Jessie E. Reed, honorary president, introduced the new president, James McCurrach. A special exhibit of pictures and advertisements dating back to the Eighties attracted considerable attention among the 450 persons in attendance.

The *Sycamore Tribune* for April 7 printed a list of the accomplishments of the DeKalb County Historical Society since its organization in 1931. This Society has discovered and marked the scenes of a number of important events in the county's history, it sponsored the countywide centennial celebration in 1934, and it has secured a number of manuscripts, documents, pictures, and books of historical value. The Society has also distributed a questionnaire of fifty-two questions to be used as a guide for citizens who have consented to write a sketch of pioneer life in DeKalb County.

The Edwards County Historical Society continued its study of early settlers in the community at its March and April meetings. On the former occasion, an account of the Harris family of Albion was read by Mrs. Virginia Strawn Skinner. The account was written by Mrs. Francis R. Harris of Kirkwood, Missouri. In April, the story of the Orange family, written by Mrs. W. A. Wheeler, was read by

Mrs. L. W. Bassett. "Early Newspapers of Albion" was the subject discussed at the May meeting of the Society when Miss Alice Bradshaw read an article written on this subject by the late Walter Colyer. W. H. Siefferman is president of the Edwards County Society.

A lecture on the geology of the Glencoe region was given by Professor John R. Ball of Northwestern University at the joint meeting of the Glencoe Historical Society and the Woman's Literary Club of Glencoe on April 7. Mrs. Harry C. Curtis arranged the program and Mrs. Grace Grant was in charge of the social hour which followed.

The program given at the May meeting of the Jersey County Historical Society included papers by Mrs. Walter Leigh, Mrs. Fred A. Howell, and Mrs. Edward Houseman. Group singing was led by Prentiss D. Cheney. Mrs. Fred A. DuHadway, chairman of the program committee, arranged the evening's program.

The recent razing of the old tavern on "The Whipple Farm," three miles south of Jerseyville, removed one of the last traces of the old Jacksonville-Alton stagecoach line of a century ago. The three-story structure contained seventeen rooms. A huge barn with doors wide enough to admit a stagecoach and four-horse team was attached to the tavern. The farm on which it stood is now owned by John P. Walsh.

A substantial increase in membership of the Kankakee County Historical Society was announced at the annual meeting of the Society in Kankakee on April 7. Other business was transacted and all officers were re-elected. They include: Lynn O. Minor, president; Rush Huff, vice-president; Gilbert G. Hertz, secretary and treasurer. Members of the executive board include the officers and G. W. Boyd, B. F. Hertz, Monroe Curtis, Ed Keast, Mrs. C. M. C. Buntain, Mrs.

Victor Boudreau, Mrs. Earl Francis, Huntington James, and Vernon McBroom.

The program at the above-mentioned meeting included the following talks: reminiscences by Huntington James; an account of the Indians of the region by Harry Streeter; and a brief history of the eastern part of the county by Frank W. Love.

The Western Chroniclers, historical society of Knox County, met in Galesburg on March 22. Mrs. Ann Elphick was in charge of a discussion of early Oquawka history.

Members of the Lee County Historical Society are making plans for the entertainment of the Illinois State Historical Society which will hold its annual meeting in Dixon in early October. Paul M. Angle, secretary-treasurer of the state organization, was present at the April meeting of the Lee County Society and made a brief talk in this connection. A paper on the early settlers of Lee County who came from Castine, Maine, was read by Mrs. Ira B. Lanphier. Mrs. E. N. Howell was hostess of the evening and Judge George C. Dixon, president of the Society, presided.

The final meeting of the Lee County organization this season was held on May 19 in Dixon. Accounts of early days in the community were given by Mrs. E. E. Wingert, Mrs. Ira B. Lanphier, and Mrs. Clara P. Rowe. Family heirlooms, photographs, and letters brought by various members of the Society provided interesting exhibits.

Officers elected for the coming year include the following: George C. Dixon, president; Miss Jane E. Franks, vice-president; Mrs. Ira B. Lanphier, treasurer; and Mrs. Theodore J. Goe, secretary.

Efforts to add new members to the Maywood Historical Society are being made by the membership committee of that organization. All Maywood persons over eighteen years of age are eligible for membership upon payment of annual dues of fifty cents. The following officers were re-elected at the February meeting of the Society:

W. L. Castleman, president; Mrs. Susan Hough, first vice-president; Miss Vernell C. Dammaier, second vice-president; and Mrs. Mildred Diesner, treasurer. Edward P. Benjamin was unanimously elected secretary. Mrs. O. J. Westcott was re-elected delegate to the Illinois State Historical Society.

"History Quiz on Old Morgan" is the title of a weekly feature prepared by the Morgan County Historical Society and published in the *Jacksonville Journal-Courier*. Three questions on the history of Jacksonville and Old Morgan County are printed every week and those who answer one question correctly are awarded a one-year membership in the Morgan County Historical Society. Those who answer more than one question correctly may nominate other persons to receive memberships. Correct answers and names of winners are printed two weeks after the questions appear. A committee composed of W. H. Hendrickson, Frank Heinl, and Mrs. Henry English prepares the questions and judges the answers.

When the Morgan County Society met on April 26, Paul M. Angle spoke on Jacksonville's picturesque Civil War hero, General Benjamin H. Grierson. Following his address, several members of the Society who had known General Grierson contributed interesting reminiscences. Dr. C. P. McClelland spoke briefly on the work of Dr. Richard O. Stoops, former superintendent of Jacksonville public schools, who died on March 31. He was an active member of the Morgan County Historical Society.

A display of valuable historical material covering the Revolutionary and Civil War periods was on exhibit at the February meeting of the Oak Park Historical Society. Mrs. John B. McEwan, Mrs. Frank Stevens, C. H. Stassen, and Thomas Doane provided the various articles in the exhibit. J. C. Miller, chairman of the Historical Facts Committee, made a report, and Raymond Walter Edwards gave a dramatic reading. Thomas Doane is president of the Society.

"Illinois at War" was the subject of the address made by Paul M. Angle, state historian, at the annual dinner of the Peoria Historical Society on May 20. The meeting was held at the Y.M.C.A. in Peoria.

"Lincoln's Home Front" was the subject discussed by Judge John C. Lewe at the January meeting of the Riverside Historical Society. At the business meeting preceding the talk, the following officers were elected: Miss Josephine Sherman, president; Schofield B. Gross, vice-president; E. L. C. Hoefer, secretary; Mrs. John P. Mack, treasurer; and Mrs. Janet Bangs, historian.

The acquisition of a suitable building to be used as a museum for the Rock Island County Historical Society is one of the chief objectives of members of that Society. At the annual dinner meeting in May, plans were made for the appointment of a committee to work towards that end. The program given on this occasion included a paper on "Early Moline" by Wilson Hunt, and brief talks by Mrs. C. A. Waldmann and Mrs. Clara Weckel Stevenson.

The following officers were elected for the coming year: John H. Hauberg, honorary president and curator; H. F. Staack, president; Miss Elsie Shocker, first vice-president; Mrs. C. A. Waldmann, second vice-president; Mrs. M. H. Lyon, Jr., secretary; Miss Alice Williams, treasurer; Miss Helen L. Marshall, archivist; Elmore H. Stafford, Mr. and Mrs. George B. Coe, Mr. and Mrs. John L. Gorham, and Mrs. C. R. Crakes, directors.

John E. Miller was elected president of the St. Clair County Historical Society at the annual meeting of the board of directors on February 6. Dr. L. G. Osborne was named vice-president and L. N. Nick Perrin, Jr., secretary-treasurer.

Members of the Schuyler County Historical Society are being urged to preserve letters and pictures of service men of the county

for future use in recording the county's history in this war. Miss Rosa Jackson will receive any of these which people may wish to give to the Society for safekeeping. The following officers were elected by the Society in March: Miss Carrie R. Sparks, president; R. A. Lawler, vice-president; Miss Adaline Naught, secretary; and Guy H. Miller, treasurer.

An "old-fashioned party of good fellowship" describes the annual social meeting of the Winnetka Historical Society which was held on February 27. A "victory supper" was followed by a style show of heirloom costumes from the collection of Mrs. Harry Barnum. Wallace D. Rumsay conducted the musical program. The remainder of the evening was devoted to old-fashioned games. When the Society met again in May, Paul M. Angle, Springfield, discussed "Illinois History in Maps."

CONTRIBUTORS

Charles LeRoy Brown, member of the firm of Brown, Fox and Blumberg, has devoted special attention to appellate practice. He was special counsel for the State of Illinois in Illinois Central Railroad litigation, 1913-1916. . . . Esther Mary Ayers, a graduate of Southern Illinois Normal University, is a teacher in Valmeyer Community High School, Valmeyer, Illinois. . . . Mrs. L. E. Ellis received her A.B. degree from Illinois College and her M.A. degree from the University of Chicago. She is now residing in New Brunswick, New Jersey.

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LINCOLN'S OFFER OF A COMMAND TO GARIBALDI: FURTHER LIGHT ON A DISPUTED POINT OF HISTORY[1]

BY HOWARD R. MARRARO

THE brilliant exploits of Giuseppe Garibaldi, the Italian patriot, during his conquest of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies won for him the admiration and love of all freedom-loving peoples. Everywhere he was hailed as the champion of his country and of the cause of humanity. Perhaps in no other part of the world was the enthusiasm over his acts of heroism and military successes as sincere and unbounded as it was in America. Because he had given his sword, his strength, his hopes, and his life to the regeneration of Italy, with as absolute and earnest a devotion as that which Washington had given to the cause of the American colonies, in the United States the sound of the name of Garibaldi stirred the hearts of men "like the peal of a trumpet." It is significant to note that on the annual celebration of America's independence in 1860, Garibaldi, "the Washington of Italy," as he became known, shared in the honors which were everywhere paid by orators to the father of the United States. No passages in the orations and speeches of the day elicited more hearty and en-

[1] H. Nelson Gay, "Lincoln's Offer of a Command to Garibaldi: Light on a Disputed Point of History," *The Century Magazine*, LXXV (Nov., 1907), 63-74. Apparently Gay did not have access to the available documents bearing on the subject. It is the purpose of this article to present further unpublished evidence on the subject with the object of clarifying this much-disputed point in American history.

thusiastic applause than those which awarded the just meed of praise to the Italian hero, and gave utterance to the earnest popular desire for his success. The fact that Garibaldi a decade earlier, following the fall of the Roman Republic, had sought refuge and asylum in America, quite naturally contributed to the general enthusiasm which his name and deeds aroused in the United States.[2]

In response to this general enthusiasm there had already appeared in New York an English translation of Garibaldi's autobiography.[3] Besides, the leading American magazines and newspapers were now publishing numerous articles on his life, his volunteers, his valorous fight for the redemption of his country, his achievements, and his nobility of character.[4] Of these articles the one that deserves particular mention is Henry T. Tuckerman's[5] "Giuseppe Garibaldi," published in the January, 1861, issue of the *North American Review*.[6] The article, a glowing tribute to the Italian, reached Garibaldi while at the island of Caprera where he had retired after the Sicilian campaign and where he was then living with a changing group of old comrades in arms.

[2] Howard R. Marraro, *American Opinion on the Unification of Italy 1846-1861* (New York, 1932), 276-77.

[3] Giuseppe Garibaldi, *The Life of Giuseppe Garibaldi Written by Himself with Sketches of his Companions in Arms*. Translated by his friend and admirer, Theodore Dwight (New York, 1859).

[4] The following is a partial list of the major articles on Garibaldi published by the leading American magazines of the day: "Garibaldi and the Italian Volunteers," *Eclectic Magazine*, XLIX (Jan., 1860), 89-104; "Giuseppe Garibaldi," *Living Age*, LXIII: 223-25; LXVII (1860), 48-53, 126-27; LXVIII (1861), 55-56; "Italy, Past and Present," *National Quarterly Review*, I (June, 1860), 201-30; "Italy and Italian Nationality," *Eclectic Magazine*, L (June, 1860), 236-58; "Italy in Transition," *ibid.*, LII (Jan., 1861), 49-51; "Life and Times of Garibaldi," *Living Age*, LXII (1859), 763-66; "The Sicilian Game," *ibid.*, LXVII (1860), 734-48; "Sicily As It Was and Is," *ibid.*, LXVI (1860), 195-219; J. B. Torricelli, "G. Garibaldi," *Christian Examiner*, LXX (Jan., 1861), 108-37.

[5] Henry T. Tuckerman, 1813-1871, writer, had visited Italy in 1833-1834 and in 1836-1838. By his articles he helped to correct false ideas and prevalent prejudices regarding Italy.

[6] *North American Review*, XCII (Jan., 1861), 15-56.

Augusto Vecchi,[7] one of these friends, upon Garibaldi's request, acknowledged with thanks the receipt of the article. Secretly, however, Vecchi enclosed a personal letter, wherein he expressed a grave concern over our Civil War. As a means of bringing it to a speedy and successful termination, Vecchi suggested that Garibaldi be invited to lend his aid on behalf of the Union cause. So far as is known, Garibaldi had nothing to do with this suggestion; it was Vecchi's own. According to Vecchi, Tuckerman was to suggest it to Garibaldi as if the idea had originated with him.

Research has failed to produce Tuckerman's reply to Vecchi's suggestion. The fact is that the initiative to invite Garibaldi was taken by James W. Quiggle,[8] American Consul to Antwerp, who, encouraged by a recent meeting with the great Italian, on June 8, 1861, addressed a letter to him in which he referred to rumors he had seen in newspapers concerning his intention to join the army of the North. "If you do," wrote Quiggle, "the name of Lafayette will not surpass yours." Assuring Garibaldi that there would be thousands of Italians, Hungarians, and Americans "who will glory to be under the command of the 'Washington of Italy,' " Quiggle asked the Italian to let him know if this was really his intention, promising him that if it were, he would resign his position as Consul to join him.

In his reply dated at Caprera on June 27,[9] Garibaldi assured his "friend" that the news in the papers of his

[7] Candido Augusto Vecchi, 1814-1869, a patriot who took active part in the military operations under Garibaldi during the Roman Republic. He was exiled, and later fought under Garibaldi during the Sicilian expedition in 1860. He wrote "Garibaldi a Caprera," dealing with the life of the General there. He also was with Garibaldi when taken prisoner at Varignano and Spezia.

[8] Quiggle was appointed American Consul at Antwerp on April 18, 1859. He served from July 16, 1859, to Sept. 30, 1861. For the text of Quiggle's letter to Garibaldi, June 8, 1861, see Gay, *Century* (Nov., 1907), 66.

[9] For text of Garibaldi's letter see *ibid.*, 66-67.

going to America was "not exact," for though he had a great desire to go, "many causes" prevented him. He added, however, that if Quiggle, in writing to his government, learned that it believed his service of some use, he would go to America, provided that in the meantime he was not already engaged in the defense of his own country. Begging to be informed whether the Civil War was being waged over the emancipation of the Negroes, Garibaldi assured Quiggle, "I should be very happy to be your companion in a war in which I would take part by duty as well as sympathy."

In his reply, dated July 4,[10] Quiggle stated that though it was not the intention of the federal government to emancipate the Negroes from slavery, yet he "would not be surprised" if war resulted in "the extinction of slavery in the United States, no matter what may be the circumstances." Thereupon Quiggle forwarded copies of his correspondence with Garibaldi to the State Department in Washington.

William H. Seward,[11] the Secretary of State, received the correspondence at a critical moment in the conduct of the Civil War. The defeat of the Union forces at Bull Run, on July 21, made it evident that the war was to last long and be stubbornly fought. The gloomy outlook of the war doubtlessly encouraged the government to invite Garibaldi's aid. It chose H. S. Sanford,[12] American Minister at Brussels, to go on a special mission to Caprera. In a letter dated in Washington, July 27, 1861, Seward instructed Sanford to enter into communi-

[10] *Century* (Nov., 1907), 67.

[11] William H. Seward, 1801-1872, was Secretary of State, 1861-1869. For the text of Seward's letter of July 27, 1861, to Sanford, see *ibid.*

[12] Henry S. Sanford, appointed American Minister Resident in Belgium on March 20, 1861, left that post on July 21, 1869. He had served previously as Secret ary of the American Legation in France.

cation at once with the "distinguished Soldier of Freedom," to tell Garibaldi that his services were "earnestly desired and invited," and that he would receive "a Major-General's commission" in the army of the United States.

At this point inaccurate news of the offer leaked out in Washington. The rumor soon spread through the public press that Garibaldi had offered his services to the North. As early as June 17, 1861, the *New York Herald* reported the rumor that Garibaldi contemplated a visit to America "in a month or two," if a war in Italy appeared unlikely. By midsummer, on August 11, the *New York Tribune* gave confirmation of the rumor in a dispatch from its Washington correspondent, who stated positively that Garibaldi had offered his services to the national government, that the offer was promptly accepted, and that the rank of major-general was tendered. "Should the liberator of Italy revisit this country to take the field for freedom," the correspondent remarked, "he would be greeted with enthusiasm beyond the power of words to express." For several months the American press sought to verify the truth of the report. It was both denied and reaffirmed, but no official pronouncement could be had at Washington.

The American press gave unanimous approval of the offer. Likening Garibaldi's offer to those of Lafayette, Steuben, and De Kalb, the *New York Evening Post*[13] stated that at a time when the Union regiments were clamoring to be led forward by officers of experience, "his presence would be a great acquisition," for he would "infuse the most vivid spirit into the body" of Union soldiers. "His name alone," it continued, "would be a

[13] Aug. 5, 1861.

tower of strength for any army that should possess it. All his former countrymen would flock to his standard, and the lovers of liberty throughout the nation would be glad to serve under one who had done so much for it in the old world." The *New York World*[14] thought it quite natural that Garibaldi, who fought so bravely to unite into "one magnificent kingdom" the long disintegrated parts of Italy, would almost be expected to lend his helping hand to prevent the terrible disintegration of the American nation. "If he is deficient in the comprehensive strategy which has made our great leaders so famous," continued the *World*, "his peculiar skill in active and so-called irregular warfare would materially aid the execution of Scott's plans, and be the most fit instrument to oppose to the guerilla, picket-shooting warfare in which the rebels put their trust." In an announcement to the effect that Garibaldi's offer of services had been accepted, the *New York Herald*[15] stated that the name and presence of Garibaldi "will prove to the English and French governments that it [the North] has the sympathies of the friends of human freedom throughout the world, and that any interference on their part in favor of the South will expose them to a severe retribution at their hands."

When the report of Garibaldi's command reached England, the *London Times* revamped and varnished the news, and described it as "another let down, really worse than any before." It added that the President of the United States "as if despairing of native genius or enterprise," had invited Garibaldi to accept the post of commander-in-chief, "throwing into the bargain the

[14] Aug. 6, 1861.
[15] Aug. 13, 1861.

emancipation of the slaves." The *Times* added that "it costs an effort to take in the extravagant oddity and the humiliating character of this proposal." The newspaper warned Americans that Garibaldi was not the man for their purposes if they could get him, which they could not; that he could not succeed if he were to come, which he would not; and it informed Garibaldi that he must not go if he wanted to, that there was nothing to fight for in America if he went, and that his life and labors were sacred to Italy.[16]

Probably influenced by the criticism published in English papers, at this point some Americans began to discourage the offer, and even deny that the offer of a commission had ever been made, attributing the rumors "so devoid of truth" to the "malicious ingenuity of the rebel agents abroad." The *New York Herald*,[17] which only a few weeks earlier had given its enthusiastic approval of Garibaldi's command of an American army, now maintained that though admittedly a very successful general in fighting for the freedom and unity of his own country, "Garibaldi does not understand the Americans and their motives sufficiently to accomplish any great result here, even if he had an open field in which to carry out his own designs." A few days later, commenting on the report received from its Paris correspondent, the *Herald*[18] denied that any such offer had ever been made to Garibaldi "by any one having authority to that effect." Though Garibaldi was an undoubted friend of America and a dashing partisan leader, he did not possess the qualifications for the position indicated, remarked the *Herald*, and it was not likely that the American gov-

[16] Quoted from *New York World*, Oct. 4, 1861.
[17] Sept. 27, 1861.
[18] Oct. 8, 1861.

ernment would offer to him a position which could be so much better filled by men like Generals McClellan, Grant, Hitchcock, and a host of other regularly trained and capable native officers.

Supporting these views, the Genoa correspondent of the *New York Herald* in a communication dated September 16, 1861, explained the origin of what he termed the "silly story." According to this correspondent, after Quiggle's offer to Garibaldi, the President of the United States, in order to be civil to the renowned General, even in a dilemma which an officious official had created by his meddlesome disposition, had to say to General Garibaldi that if he was disposed to enter the United States service, he, the President, would be delighted to give him a position worthy of his great merits.[19]

Nevertheless, upon receipt of Seward's dispatch, Sanford summoned Quiggle to Brussels for a conference at which the entire question was examined. After the conference, Quiggle, on August 19, wrote another personal letter to Garibaldi in which he continued to encourage the Italian to enter the American army. For reasons that are not clear Quiggle failed to mention in his letter the fact that Sanford was on his way to Italy to negotiate with him [Garibaldi] in accordance with instructions from the State Department. The following is the text of the hitherto unpublished letter that Quiggle addressed to Garibaldi:

Consulate of the United States
of America

Antwerp, Belgium
August 19th 1861

General Garibaldi

My dear Sir—

Since my last letter to you, I thought I would suggest this fact—that probably in the course of four or six months the war in the

[19] *New York Herald*, Oct. 11, 1861.

United States will be ended. The most vigorous efforts are making on the part of the Government to close it at the earliest day practicable. Of the ultimate success of the North to suppress this rebellion, there can be no earthly doubt.

Your affairs in Italy may at this termination need soldiers—arms—and ammunition. We (I do not mean the Government, but the people) will just then be in a position to furnish you all three in behalf of the Italian cause in which our people feel so deep an interest.

I desire to mention another thing; I am aware that no pecuniary consideration could be any motive in your engaging in the war of the United States. The world has seen in your rejection of the offers made to you by the Government of Italy, that money has no place in the heart that has led you to the renown which you have so justly won.

But let me say to you, that if you accept this glorious invitation from my Government, in my opinion, when you will arrive in New York, hundreds of thousands of dollars will be raised, if agreeable to you, to be used in such manner and for such purposes as you may see proper in the engagement upon which you would enter.

Kossuth went there a few years ago, representing a foreign government that had been down-trodden; and the nation rose to receive him and threw in his lap many treasures of the people. But if you go, you will go by the invitation of a great government to take part in a war whose object is the defense of freedom and liberty and a suppression of a most unjustifiable rebellion.

I hope that you will excuse me for the present intrusion, and believe me to be, with the highest regard

Your friend

J. W. Quiggle[20]

Consul

To General Garibaldi
Caprera, Italy

Upon his arrival in Turin, the Italian capital, on August 20, Sanford, following Seward's instructions, discussed his mission with George P. Marsh,[21] the

[20] Transcribed from original MS in Archivio del Risorgimento, Milan. Busta No. 597.

[21] George Perkins Marsh, 1801-1882, was born in Woodstock, Vt. He was graduated from Dartmouth College, 1820, and was admitted to the bar, 1825. Elected to the Supreme Executive Council of Vermont, 1835, he was a member of Congress, 1843-1849; Minister to Turkey, 1849-1853; appointed by President Lincoln first Minister to the new Kingdom of Italy, 1861, a post which he held to his death.

American Minister to Italy. Together they decided to dispatch Giuseppe Artomi,[22] clerk of the American Legation at Turin, to Caprera with a confidential letter, dated at Turin, August 20, 1861,[23] asking whether he [Garibaldi] was open to propositions on the subject of Sanford's mission.

In his reply to Sanford, dated August 31,[24] Garibaldi expressed his happiness to serve "a country for which I have so much affection and of which I am an adoptive citizen." However, since he did not feel himself entirely free, because of his "duties toward Italy," he could not give an immediate affirmative reply. "Nevertheless," Garibaldi continued, "if His Majesty, Victor Emmanuel, believes he has no need of my services...you will have me immediately at your disposal." Believing that his proposed departure for the United States might encourage the Italian government to make, or to allow him to make, an attempt to take Rome, Garibaldi sent Colonel Trecchi[25] to inform Victor Emmanuel of the American offer. Though Garibaldi's letter to the King has never been disclosed, the writer must certainly have urged immediate action with a view to annex Rome.

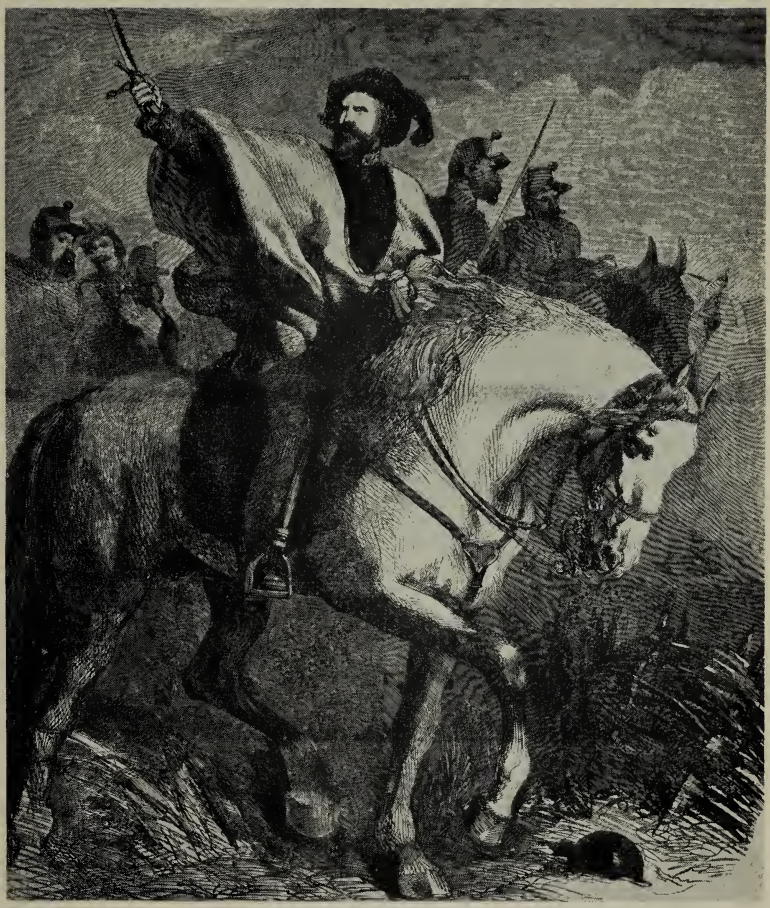
Trecchi, who accompanied Artomi on his return from Caprera, and who had a conference with Sanford on September 3, informed the American Minister that Garibaldi instructed him to notify the King that if no answer to this letter was returned within twenty-four hours, he [Garibaldi] would leave for the United States. In his

[22] Giuseppe Artomi has not been found in any of the sources available in the Department of State. However, one Joseph Antoni is referred to in the relevant records as having been appointed American Consular Agent at Turin, Italy, on Sept. 27, 1864.

[23] *Century* (Nov., 1907), 68.

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] Col. Gaspare Trecchi, 1813-1882, enlisted in the Sardinian army, took an active part in the military campaigns of 1848, and served on several occasions as intermediary between Garibaldi and King Victor Emmanuel II.



From Harper's Weekly, June 9, 1860

General Guiseppe Garibaldi, About 1860

answer, which was delayed until the sixth, the King informed Garibaldi that he was free to go. In communicating the reply to Sanford, Trecchi stated that there was now nothing to hold the General in Italy. At this point the negotiations became involved over the question of Garibaldi's rank in the American army. Unfortunately, Garibaldi had concluded, from letters received from Quiggle and the conversation of the messenger, that he was going to be appointed commander-in-chief of the Union army.

To clarify the whole situation, Sanford immediately engaged a private steamer, and left Genoa for Maddalena on September 8, bearing also the King's reply, which Trecchi had entrusted to him. Garibaldi received Sanford on the evening of the ninth and again on the following morning, the tenth. Sanford left at noon for Genoa, convinced that his mission was hopeless. Garibaldi had demanded the impossible, since our constitution provides that the President is commander-in-chief of the army of the United States. Though Garibaldi had been offered a high rank, yet it was a subordinate one, and both Sanford and Marsh soon agreed that Garibaldi was not altogether wrong in refusing it. They recalled that as a military commander Garibaldi had been accustomed to act on his own plans, and they questioned whether he would or could be successful in a co-operative action. Furthermore, the emancipation of the slaves, which the Italian demanded the discretionary right of declaring, had not yet formed a part of Lincoln's program. Sanford immediately sent a dispatch to Seward from Brussels, dated September 18, 1861, giving a detailed account of his negotiations with Garibaldi.[26]

[26] *Century* (Nov., 1907), 69.

In the following dispatch, hitherto unpublished in its entirety, Marsh, too, hastened to give Seward an explanation of the causes that led to the failure of Sanford's mission.

No. 19

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES
TURIN, September 16, 1861

Hon. William H. Seward
Secretary of State

SIR,

Mr. Sanford arrived here from Caprera on the evening of Thursday the 12th instant, and left for Brussels the next evening. He will of course explain to you the causes of his failure to accomplish the object of his mission, and on that subject I need only say that his want of success is not to be ascribed to any error or indiscretion on his part. He has, in my judgment, conducted the whole affair with much prudence, tact and skill, and I am satisfied that the services of General Garibaldi cannot under present circumstances be secured, except by the offer of terms which Mr. Sanford was not authorized, and the American Government would not be inclined, to propose.

Although, after the correspondence which had taken place between Mr. Quiggle and Garibaldi, the President could not avoid making some advances to that distinguished soldier, I do not by any means look upon his [Garibaldi's] assumption of a position which precluded all negotiation, and put it out of Mr. Sanford's power to make a proposal at all, as an evil. His constitutional independence of character and action; his long habit of exercising uncontrolled and irresponsible authority; the natural and honorable pride which he cannot but feel in reviewing his own splendid career and vast achievements; and the consciousness that, though but a solitary and private individual, he is, at this moment, in and of himself, one of the great Powers of the world—all these combine to render it difficult, if not impossible, for him, consistently with due self respect, to accept military rank and powers as the President can constitutionally and lawfully offer him. And if this difficulty were overcome there is much reason to suppose that the natural jealousy of American officers and American soldiers would much embarrass the efficiency of a commander of Garibaldi's character, who though naturalized has never identified himself with our national interests, by long residence, or by active participation in American political or social life, especially if such Commander were

placed in the new exceptional position which alone Garibaldi could accept.

But the opinions which this remarkable man entertains with regard to the character of the contest between the Federal Government and the insurgent states would constitute an equally insuperable objection in his mind to his acceptance of a commission in the American Army, or to his usefulness in it so long as those opinions remain unchanged. I have been for some months aware that he considers this contest a struggle in which no important political or philanthropic principle is involved, and thinks the parties are contending about purely material interests, and holds neither of them has superior claim upon the sympathies of European friends of liberty and of progress. Garibaldi has never been ambitious of wielding power or winning laurels in a cause which did not commend itself to him as something more than a question of legal right and governmental interests, and this the cause of American Government and union, as regarded from his point of view, has hitherto failed to do. He, as his friends represent, does not think that the perpetuity and extension of domestic slavery constitute one of the issues of the war, and though I should not be surprised if, in spite of what has passed between him and Mr. Sanford, he should visit America of his own motion, with a view of examining the position of affairs on the spot, yet I do not believe he will take any part in the struggle, unless he is convinced that the Government and the people of the North are united in the determination to pursue a policy which shall necessarily result in the abolition of slavery.

As I have intimated in former despatches, opinions corresponding with those of Garibaldi on this subject are making rapid progress here as well as in every part of Europe concerning which I have opportunities of inquiry, and the general sympathy with the Federal Government, as the champion not of law and order only, but of the principles of universal liberty, which was so freely expressed at the outbreak of the rebellion is now much less warmly felt, and the popular good will toward is diminished in proportion.

This change in public opinion and feeling is to be ascribed, in part, to the alleged want of any tangible evidence that the Government of the Union and the people of the North design to make the ultimate abolition, or even the territorial limitation of slavery, a feature of the national policy; in part to the almost unanimous passage of Crittenden's resolution which is constructed as authoritatively negating any such purpose; and still more to the industrious efforts of the secessionists to create a belief that the antagonism be-

tween the principles of protection and of free trade is the real cause of our present dissensions.

The public opinion of Continental Europe on all American questions is manufactured by a few leading journals in England and France, and by the Paris and London correspondents of what may almost be called the provincial press. I have no doubt that so far as that opinion is erroneous, it might be in a great degree corrected by the employment of proper means to influence European journalism. There can be no difficulty in finding among the regular contributors to the periodical press of London and Paris able writers who may be induced, by a fair compensation, to sustain the national side of the question, and the metropolitan correspondents I have spoken of might generally be secured to us with even greater facility. In England at least very good effects might be produced through popular lectures or addresses by able American speakers. This latter instrumentality powerfully influences the public sentiments of the Northern States on all political questions, and the English people are not less accessible to such means of conviction and persuasion than our own.

GEORGE P. MARSH[27]

Up to this point the American ministers had succeeded in maintaining much secrecy relative to Sanford's mission, but Garibaldi's friends, in their alarm at his proposed departure, spread the rumor that the Italian patriot had accepted the command of the American federal army. The liberal press of Italy unanimously broke out at once in a chorus of remonstrance. *Il Diritto* of Turin regretted its inability to give a denial of the offer made to Garibaldi.[28] *L'Armonia* of Turin, in announcing that Garibaldi and his companions would actually proceed to America, asked "What would become of Italy?"[29] Hundreds of petitions addressed to the General were quickly circulated, particularly by the radical

[27] Gay, *Century* (Nov., 1907), 70, published a portion of this letter under date of Sept. 14, 1861 [not Sept. 16, 1861]. The full text of the original MS as given here was found in the Archives of the American Embassy, Rome.

[28] Quoted in *New York Herald*, Sept. 24, 1861.

[29] Quoted in *ibid.*, Oct. 2, 1861.

party—all conjuring him not to quit Italy for America.[30] On the other hand, a group of seventeen Polish refugee officers who had fought with Garibaldi in southern Italy, urged their leader to accept the offer, begging the privilege to follow him. The text of their hitherto unpublished appeal follows:

To His Excellency General Garibaldi
YOUR EXCELLENCY

The undersigned refugee Polish officers, discharged at their own request from the southern army of Italy, who have had the honor to serve under you, beg to ask Your Excellency—in the event that Your Excellency accepts the rank of commander-in-chief of the army of the United States—to accord them the favor to follow Your Excellency and to form a separate division in your army. Should Your Excellency refuse this important honor, we beg you take us under your protection and urge the Government of the United States to admit us into its military service. It will be our duty to be worthy of this great honor.

Please accept the expressions of our deep respect and sincere devotion with which we are Your Excellency's

very humble and devoted servants
[*Seventeen illegible signatures*][31]

TURIN,
September 19, 1861
BORGO DI RUBATO,
In care of Dr. Camusso
2nd floor

After his second and last interview with Sanford, Garibaldi deemed it proper to inform Quiggle of the outcome of the negotiations. Accordingly he wrote Quiggle a letter from Caprera, dated September 10, 1861,[32] informing the American Consul that he had seen Sanford but that he [Garibaldi] was not then in a position to go to the United States. "I have no doubt," the General added, "of the triumph of the cause of the Union, and that it

[30] Quoted in *New York Herald*, Oct. 9, 1861.
[31] MS in Archivio del Risorgimento, Milan. Busta No. 446.
[32] *Century* (Nov., 1907), 71.

will come quickly; but if the war should by evil chance continue in your country, I will overcome all the obstacles which hold me back, and will hasten to come to the defence of that people which is so dear to me." Quiggle, who was then preparing to return to the United States, replied in a letter dated at Antwerp, September 23, urging Garibaldi not to abandon his plans to come to America, and expressing the hope of meeting him "in that glorious country." Quiggle's letter follows:

ANTWERP
Sept. 23rd 1861

MY DEAR GENERAL [GARIBALDI]

I must bid you farewell before I depart for the United States. Let me have the hope to meet you at some time in that glorious country. Let me pray that your affairs in Italy will be such that no obstacles shall be in the way of your going in a very short time.

Adieu! and believe me with the utmost regard

CORDÉE QUIGGLE[33]

To Gen. Garibaldi
Caprera

A year passed, and the issue of national unity remained undecided in both Italy and America. In the summer of 1862, despite the opposition of the Italian government, the party of action succeeded in initiating a movement upon Rome, with Garibaldi at its head. At Aspromonte, however, it was stopped by the Italian troops.[34] Garibaldi had ordered his own men not to fire,

[33] MS in Archivio del Risorgimento, Milan. Busta No. 597.

[34] In July, 1862, Garibaldi had gone to Palermo, Sicily. The affection and gratitude of the Sicilians for Garibaldi evinced enthusiastic manifestations. They joined the name of Garibaldi to that of free Rome. Thousands of Sicilian volunteers were ready to follow him at the cry, "Either Rome or death!" The Italian government did nothing either to approve or disapprove the proposed plan of Garibaldi. He interpreted the silence as tacit approval, even after the publication of the King's Proclamation, Aug. 3, which condemned the undertaking as an "appeal to rebellion and civil war." But only two years before, many had had the same idea: the King's government had publicly dissuaded Garibaldi from crossing the Strait of Messina; secretly, however, it had favored it. Nevertheless, Garibaldi decided to ignore the warning and on Aug. 25, he crossed the Strait. In Calabria he found the royal army ready to

but there was some skirmishing, and he himself was severely wounded in the foot. He was carried aboard the royal ship *Il Duca di Genova*, and was taken under arrest to Varignano. It is true that he had acted against the orders of the government, but he had hoped that it would eventually give its approval, as it had in 1860, and allow him to carry out his volunteer campaign, which he thought and hoped would win Rome for Italy. In America, Garibaldi's movement was considered premature, and there was a general feeling even among his admirers that he had committed a great error. Nevertheless, it was admitted that the great mass of Italians would resent the indignities put on him by the government. The *New York Herald* assured the Italians that America's sympathies were on the Italian side.[35] Garibaldi's arrest was made on August 29. On September 1, 1862, the American Consul in Vienna, Theodore Canisius,[36] without authorization from the American government, wrote to Garibaldi to ascertain, in view

stop his march on Rome. On Aug. 29, blood was shed at Aspromonte. Seven royal soldiers and five followers of Garibaldi fell in combat. Garibaldi was wounded in his foot, and brought under arrest in the fort of Varignano, near Spezia. On Oct. 5, a King's amnesty freed Garibaldi and his followers. N. Rodolico, *Sommario Storico* (Florence, 1934), III: 290.

[35] Sept. 10, 1862.

[36] Canisius' part in the Garibaldi negotiation should be viewed in the light of an interesting personal contact which he [Canisius] had with Lincoln just prior to the latter's election to the presidency. In 1859, Canisius had established the *Illinois Staats-Anzeiger* which he also edited. The paper conducted a vigorous campaign for the support of the Republican nominee. However, Canisius soon found himself in financial difficulties with the result that in May, 1859, Lincoln became the owner of the paper, while Canisius was granted the free use of the property for the publication of the German newspaper which, of course, was strongly to support the Republican Party. The paper was Lincoln's property for eighteen months—to December 6, 1860, when, a month after Lincoln's election as president, for a valid consideration, he conveyed the type, paper, and good will to Canisius. The paper, however, did not continue long after Lincoln's election, for the President appointed Canisius as American Consul at Vienna on Aug. 7, 1861, a post he held until Jan., 1875. Subsequently he served as American Consul at Bristol, England, Geestemunde, Germany, and Apia, Samoa. Lincoln held Canisius in high regard and Canisius was a warm admirer of Lincoln. William E. Barton, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (Indianapolis, 1925), I: 420-24. For Canisius' letter to Garibaldi, Sept. 1, 1862, see Gay, *Century* (Nov., 1907), 72.

of the impossibility of accomplishing his great patriotic work in behalf of Italy, "whether it might not enter into your plans to offer us your valorous arm in the struggle for the liberty and unity of our great republic."

In his reply dated at Varignano, September 14,[37] Garibaldi informed Canisius that he was a prisoner and severely wounded. However, he expressed the hope that if set at liberty and if his wounds healed, a favorable opportunity would present itself to satisfy his desire to serve the great American Republic, "of which I am a citizen, and which today combats for universal liberty."

Canisius published the correspondence in the *Wonder* of Vienna, and at once sent a copy of the General's letter to the State Department at Washington. In a letter dated September 29, 1862, informing Garibaldi of this step, Canisius assured him that the contents of Garibaldi's letter would "produce the greatest enthusiasm throughout all the northern States."[38]

Meanwhile, Marsh, in a letter addressed to the Honorable Baron Poerio[39] on August 31, 1862, suggested that as a means of solving the embarrassing situation created by the Garibaldi incident, the Italian government might be willing to free him and his followers and permit them to sail for America to fight in the Civil War. Marsh sent a copy of the communication along with a confidential dispatch on Garibaldi's arrest, dated Turin, September 1, 1862, to Seward. The two dispatches,[40] which are here published for the first time, follow:

[37] *Century* (Nov., 1907), 72.

[38] *Ibid.*

[39] Baron Carlo Poerio, 1803-1867, a Neapolitan patriot who was frequently imprisoned, was exiled to London in 1858. He went to Turin soon after the declaration of war against Austria in 1859. After the unification of Italy, he served in the Chamber of Deputies.

[40] MSS in American Embassy, Rome.

(Confidential)

No. 51 Legation of the United States
Turin, Sept. 1, 1862

Hon. William H. Seward
Secretary of State

Sir:

The result of the Garibaldi movement will have become known to you, through the telegraph, before this despatch can reach the seat of government.

The prisoners, Garibaldi included, will probably be tried by court-martial and, as is supposed, condemned to death: but they will be finally disposed of in such a way as the Emperor Napoleon shall prescribe, unless the present ministry is overthrown before the question is decided. The King has put himself in this matter as in too many others, into the hands of Rattazzi, who is little better than an instrument of the Emperor of the French, and will implicitly obey the instructions of that sovereign. Strenuous efforts are making, and will be continued by the absolutists and Church party to procure the execution of the expected sentence, but on the other hand, the hold of Garibaldi on the affections of the liberalists throughout Europe is so strong that both this and the French Government must be aware that it would be an excessively hazardous measure to proceed to extremities against him. For any severities which may be practised towards him public opinion will justly hold not Rattazzi only but the Emperor of France responsible, and were Garibaldi to be put to death, or even, which is but too probable, to die of his wounds, a thousand Orsinis would be ready to avenge him.

The Government, it is said, offered, while Garibaldi was in Sicily, to allow him and his staff to retire to America upon a pledge not to return to Italy without the permission of the King. This he declined, nor do I suppose he will now give any pledge whatever in relation to his future conduct. But I think it not improbable that he will be permitted to embark for the United States and to take with him many of his officers and other followers. Although Garibaldi is sometimes spoken of as a citizen of the United States, I believe his naturalization was never perfected, and if it had been, he is no doubt now completely rehabilitated as an Italian subject. For this reason, as well as others, among which I may mention the extreme jealousy of the Italian Government at this moment in relation to all manifestations of sympathy with a movement whose ultimate aim it professes to believe to be the destruction of the

monarchy and the establishment of a republic—I have not thought it my duty officially to interfere in his behalf. At the same time, I cannot believe the Government and people of the United States would desire their representative at the Italian court to remain a passive spectator of the sacrifice of Garibaldi and his companions, and I have therefore addressed to a distinguished Italian gentleman, who is connected with the extremists of no party, but is in confidential relations with the leading members of the Government, an unofficial note, of which I annex a copy, marked A. I hope for a speedy answer, and this I shall immediately communicate to you.

The Ministry is just now specially jealous of American influence in Italian politics, for the reason that American ships are reported to have been concerned in conveying men and munitions of war to the insurgents, and it was very positively asserted a few days since by an official person in Sicily that the U.S. frigate the *Constellation* was lending aid and countenance to them. The Minister of Foreign Affairs was, I believe, satisfied on the latter point by assurances I gave the Secretary General of that Department who called on me for explanation, but another circumstance is now creating some uneasiness at Turin with respect to our possible relations to the Garibaldians. It is confidently affirmed that Mr. Tyhori, United States Consul at Ancona, is among the prisoners taken with Garibaldi, and Tyhori's relations at Turin are disposed to believe the rumor. It seems to me, however, quite incredible that a man of his age and experience and position could have been guilty of so grave an imprudence, and I think it more probable that the person found in the ranks of the insurgents is the younger son of Tyhori, who lately arrived from Hungary. Until the news of Garibaldi's defeat was received, the ministry were in a state of terror amounting almost to deliriums, and many acts equally absurd and illegal have been committed by them. I may mention the arrest of several members of the Chamber of Deputies in violation of their constitutional privileges, and particularly, that of Francis Pulseky who, I believe, is personally known to you. Mr. Pulseky is a correspondent of the *London Daily News*, and went to Sicily with the knowledge and approbation of the Government, partly as a letter writer for that journal, and partly with the avowed object of using his influence with Garibaldi to induce him to renounce his enterprise. On his return from Catania, he was arrested at Naples, and is now confined in the Castello dell'Uovo....

GEORGE P. MARSH.

A.

(Private and Confidential)

Turin,
August 31, 1862

My dear Baron,

You are aware that Garibaldi some time since entertained the idea of entering into the American Military service. It has occurred to me as a possibility, that in case of his recovery, the Italian Government might not be unwilling to send him and his companions to the United States as a convenient method of disposing of them. I have absolutely no authority to enter into any stipulations on the subject and I cannot therefore make any official communication to His Majesty's Ministry in relation to it. But though the American Government would certainly neither directly nor indirectly, do any act which would seem to sanction the illegal course which these persons have pursued, yet they would be willingly received in the United States, and I think it extremely probable that some arrangement would be made for their acceptation into the military service. I make this suggestion both because I think it might possibly relieve the Government of Italy for which I, as well as the people of the United States, entertain the sincerest friendship and respect, from an embarrassment, and because I should hope at the same time that it might offer to the prisoners an opportunity of usefulness to us without prejudice to the interests of Italy.

I should esteem it a favor if you would communicate this hint to such persons in power as you shall judge expedient, and favour me with a note at the office of the Legation, which will be at once forwarded.

Although I make this note Confidential, you are at liberty to use it as you think proper, if any which will not give it publicity through the press.

Ge. P. Marsh

To the Hon. Baron Poerio

Garibaldi's wound proved serious; in fact, nearly three months passed before the doctors succeeded in removing the bullet. Nevertheless, on October 7, 1862, two days after the King's amnesty was published, Garibaldi sent Vecchi to Marsh with a letter in which he stated that he "continually" thought of the disastrous

war in America, "my second country, to which I would gladly be of some use when recovered." He asked Marsh to consult the American government on this subject and to communicate his views to him through Colonel Vecchi. Marsh immediately communicated with Seward, enclosing a translation of Garibaldi's letter. The letters[41] follow:

No. 52

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES
TURIN, Oct. 8, 1862.

Hon. Wm. H. Seward
Secretary of State
SIR:

The amnesty to Garibaldi and his followers, which has been for some days expected, was published in the official *Gazette* of Monday, the 6th inst. It was a step which the Government could not, with safety to itself, have avoided, or even much longer delayed. It would have been wiser to promulgate it earlier, and it is little creditable to the discretion or the good taste of the Ministry, that in the amnesty itself the King is made to stigmatize as a "rebellion" a movement identical in character and aim with the campaign of 1860, which he approved and to which he owes the annexation of the Two Sicilies to the Sardinian Crown.

The correspondence between the consul of the United States at Vienna and Gen. Garibaldi has no doubt been reported to you. I do not know whether the letter of the consul had any influence with Garibaldi, but I have this morning received from him a communication, a translation of which with a copy of my reply is hereto annexed. Col. Vecchi, the bearer of the letter, informs me that the General, though now out of danger, is recovering very slowly and will not probably be able to move from Varignano in less than two months. The "friends" referred to by Garibaldi are explained by Col. Vecchi as meaning the military family and staff of the general and perhaps other officers who have long served under him.

The legation is continually annoyed by the offers of service from military men of all grades, and it is extremely difficult to convince them that your clear and explicit circular of Aug. 8, in relation to the emigration of laboring men and artisans was not designed as

[41] MSS in American Embassy, Rome. Gay, *Century* (Nov., 1907), 72, gave the date of Garibaldi's letter to Marsh as Oct. 5, 1862.

an invitation to European soldiers to offer themselves to the Legations and Consulates of the United States in Europe for enrolment in our military service. I have made it a uniform rule to inform these persons that I could afford them neither aid nor encouragement for any such purpose, and that a former circular from the State department authorizes me to say that tenders of service from foreign officers were no longer desired by the American Government. . . . There has been a good deal of effort even in Italy to produce the impression that the President was not personally or politically hostile to the existence of slavery, and his recent letter to Horace Greeley was made the basis of a series of articles in the *Discussione* of Turin, favoring the recognition of the Southern Confederacy on the ground that the slavery question was in no sense a direct or contingent element in the controversy. The proclamation [Emancipation Proclamation] will, I doubt not, do much to correct any erroneous conclusions, which may be arrived at on this subject.

GEORGE P. MARSH

(TRANSLATION OF A PRIVATE LETTER FROM GEN. GARIBALDI TO ACCOMPANY DISPATCH NO. 52)

VARIGNANO,
7 Oct. 1862.

MY DEAR SIR: [GEORGE P. MARSH]

I am ill and shall remain so for some months; but I think continually of the disastrous war in America, my second country, to which I would gladly be of some use when recovered. I will go thither with my friends; and we will make an appeal to all the democrats of Europe to join us in fighting this holy battle. But in this appeal it would be necessary to proclaim to them the principle which animates us—the enfranchisement of the slaves, the triumph of universal reason. Please confer with your Government on this subject, and communicate to me your ideas in regard to it, through my friend Col. Vecchi.

Believe me, meanwhile, affectionately yours,
G. GARIBALDI.

In his reply to Garibaldi, dated October 8, 1862, Marsh informed the General that he was forwarding the correspondence to his government, and that though he would not venture to anticipate the government's reply, he felt certain that it would be conceived in a spirit

of the highest respect and greatest kindness towards the Italian and his followers. The letter follows:

PRIVATE

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES
TURIN, Oct. 8, 1862

MY DEAR GENERAL

I have just received your letter of October 7, 1862, and will lose no time in forwarding a copy of it to my Government. If the despatch reaches Liverpool in time for the steamer of Saturday next, it will arrive at Washington about the 25th of the month; if too late for that mail, not before the 1st of November.

I have no doubt that the Government will reply without unnecessary delay, but I cannot venture to anticipate the character of its answer further than to state that I am sure it will be conceived in a spirit of the highest respect and greatest kindness towards yourself and your brave companions. You and they will in any event be warmly welcomed by the American Government and people, and I fervently hope that means may be found to give you all an opportunity of rendering new services and winning new laurels in the cause of liberty and of progress to which the best years of your life have been so nobly devoted.

I have the honour to be my dear General with the profoundest respect and esteem

Yours

GEORGE P. MARSH[42]

To Gen. Giuseppe Garibaldi

Marsh's dispatch of October 8, 1862, in which he communicated Garibaldi's offer to the State Department, crossed a dispatch of October 9, 1862, addressed to him by Seward, announcing the dismissal of Canisius from his post for his presumption in reopening negotiations with Garibaldi without official authorization. It seems odd that the same Secretary of State who less than a year earlier had commended Quiggle for having opened negotiations with Garibaldi, should now have removed

[42] MS in Archivio del Risorgimento, Milan. Busta No. 474. Copy in Archives of American Embassy, Rome. Gay published a slightly different version of this letter, *Century* (Nov., 1907), 72-73.

Canisius for having attempted to reopen the same negotiations. Canisius' letter of September 1, 1862, like that of Quiggle of June 8, 1861, did not profess to be official. But Quiggle had succeeded in keeping his correspondence with Garibaldi secret, reporting it only to the State Department, while Canisius had boastfully given his correspondence to the press; furthermore, in his letter, Canisius had unwisely described the expedition for which Garibaldi was placed under arrest as "a great patriotic work." This was regarded as an affront to the Italian government, and for this reason his commission as Consul was withdrawn. Seward's letters follow:

No. 55

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON, Oct. 9, 1862.

Geo. P. Marsh
Turin
SIR:

I send you herewith a copy of a despatch which has been transmitted to Mr. Canisius, Consul of the United States at Vienna.

You may read it to Mr. Rattazzi and give him a copy of it if he desires one.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD

(COPY)
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON, October 10, 1862.

T. Canisius, Esq.,
U. S. Consulate, Vienna,
SIR:

Your despatch of the 17th ultimo, brings a letter which was written by you to General Garibaldi on the first of September last.

I am directed by the President to inform you that your proceeding in writing that letter is disapproved.

First, It is in its nature not a consular but a diplomatic act, transcending your proper functions, which is considered the more unpardonable when it is remembered that the United States are represented, not only at Turin, but even at Vienna, where you reside, by a Minister invested with the most ample diplomatic authority, constantly receiving special instructions from this Department.

Secondly, Although the proceeding of inviting General Garibaldi to join the armies of the United States may have seemed to you to have been warranted by the fact that this Government a year ago tendered a command in our armies to that distinguished soldier, yet your proceedings are not at all parallel to those which attended that case. That invitation was given by the President's direct authority,[43] and was not communicated to General Garibaldi until the consent of the King of Italy . . . was obtained by the diplomatic representative of this country, acting under the direct instruction from this department.

Thirdly, In your communication to General Garibaldi you describe his recent movement as a great patriotic work undertaken in the interest of his country, although the fact was known to you that the undertaking had been prohibited by the Government of that country, and that General Garibaldi was taken in arms against that Government. The policy of the United States in regard to Italy is absolute abstinence from all intervention in its domestic affairs. You have taken up an issue between the Government and a portion of the people of Italy who have risen in arms against it.

At the present conjuncture, when every care is necessarily taken to avoid injurious complications in foreign affairs, and especially in Europe, proceedings on your part so entirely divergent from this judicious policy cannot be overlooked. Upon these grounds your commission as Consul at Vienna is withdrawn.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.[44]

No news of Canisius' or Marsh's correspondence with Garibaldi appeared in the public press of America. No mention was made of the possibility of his coming to America—not even when the *London Times* of September 25, in an editorial, remarked that in the light of recent events, "it is not impossible that we may yet see Garibaldi crossing the Atlantic in the assumed character of an American citizen, and fighting for the subjugation of a nation struggling to be free."[45] The *London Post* remarked that, to be consistent, Garibaldi should go to

[43] This statement is important inasmuch as it establishes the fact that the invitation to Garibaldi was given by President Lincoln's direct authority.

[44] MSS in American Embassy, Rome.

[45] See *New York Herald*, Oct. 5, 6, 1862.

the other side, where 9,000,000 men were fighting for the right of governing themselves.[46]

As soon as a general amnesty was proclaimed and it became legally possible for Garibaldi to receive visitors, William T. Rice, United States Consul at Spezia, Italy, was among the first to call on him. Rice found Garibaldi still keenly interested in the progress of the Civil War, although in the course of his conversation, the Italian failed to make any allusion to the question of his entering the American army. Rice's dispatch of October 15, addressed to Marsh, follows:

No. 11

UNITED STATES CONSULATE,
SPEZIA, ITALY.
October 15, 1862.

SIR:

Two days after the general amnesty granted to General Garibaldi and his followers by the King of Italy had been proclaimed, I called upon the General at Varignano. He received me most kindly, inquiring with much interest concerning the state of our affairs in the United States, the progress of the war, etc. I found him confined to his bed, unable to move his right leg owing to his severe wound. I have seen him once since; he suffers greatly from the wound in his ankle, which appears to be more serious than was at first thought, and gives his medical attendants great uneasiness. He will not be able to leave his bed for a long time to come, and even when recovered will in all probability ever suffer from a stiffness of the ankle joint.

It has been reported to me that some of the General's officers had made the remark that before the end of this year they would be in America fighting in our Army. Should any offer of service be made to me I would respectfully request to know how to act in the premises. In neither of my interviews with the General did he make any allusion to this subject, excepting so far as to say that he should like once more to revisit the United States of America but his manner did not indicate anything further—nothing bearing upon military service—or offer of such.

[46] See *New York Herald*, Oct. 5, 1862.

I think it my duty to inform you of this and to ask for general instructions in case certain advances be made to me, which I must add I only glean from reports and newspaper correspondence. I wish also to add that almost all the foreign consuls here called upon the General after the amnesty had been proclaimed, and now every one is free to visit him. During the last week, however, he has been too unwell to receive any visitors having had a severe attack of rheumatism.

WILLIAM T. RICE[47]
US Consul

In compliance with the instructions contained in Seward's dispatch of October 9, 1862, Marsh called on the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs to inform him of the position taken by the government of the United States with reference to Canisius' indiscretion. However, since Seward's dispatch contained a misstatement of fact, Marsh took care to omit that paragraph from his conversations with the Italian Foreign Minister. The result of that visit and the consequent clarification of the negotiations as they had actually developed are contained in Marsh's dispatch to Seward, dated at Turin on November 4, 1862:

No. 57

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES
TURIN, Nov. 4, 1862

Hon. Wm. H. Seward
Secretary of State
SIR,

Not having been able to see Mr. Rattazzi I have read to the Minister of Foreign Affairs the substance of your despatch No. 54, and of the letter of recall to Mr. Canisius, United States Consul at Vienna, enclosed in dispatch No. 55. In making a verbal translation of this letter, and in preparing a copy of it to be given to the Minister, I ventured to omit the paragraph which points out the distinction between the present case and the former negotiation be-

[47] MS in American Consulate, Genoa. William T. Rice was appointed American Consul at Spezia on July 31, 1861; appointed American Consular Agent at Spezia on Feb. 19, 1875; appointed American Consul at Leghorn on March 29, 1880. Later he served as American Consul at Horgen, Switzerland, 1882-1891.

tween Mr. Sanford and Gen. Garibaldi, because the statement therein made would be liable to be remarked upon by this government as not strictly exact in point of historical fact. I believe Mr. Sanford was directed to confer with me on the subject of his mission, and if I am not mistaken, your despatch to him referred to instructions which had been, or would be, sent to me on the subject.[48] But no such instructions were received by me, and the application to the Italian Government was made by General Garibaldi himself by letter addressed directly to the King, and answered by His Majesty in, I think, an autograph communication.

Mr. Sanford and I were both of the opinion that the facts of the case ought to be made known to Baron Ricasoli, and accordingly after Mr. Sanford's return from Caprera, I detailed to that Minister, verbally, the history of the transaction throughout, except that I did not state precisely what conditions General Garibaldi exacted, but only said in general terms that he insisted on stipulations, at the outset, which could not be acceded to, and that consequently the negotiations fell to the ground, without any distinct proposal ever having been made by Gen. Sanford in behalf of his Government.

These I believe to be the precise facts of the case, and though I do not suppose it very material whether the King's consent was granted upon our application, or upon that of Genl. Garibaldi,[49] I thought it better to omit an unimportant paragraph of your letter than to alter its terms or to employ a statement which would be thought inaccurate. General Durando thanked me for communicating the letter of recall, and said he had never supposed, for a moment, that the Federal Government, was in any way privy to the act of consul, or justly responsible for it, though he added, that had the letter proceeded from the American Legation or a consulate in Italy while Garibaldi was still a prisoner charged with a grave offence against the Government, the ministry would have thought itself authorized to demand an explanation.

The rumor of Mr. Tyhori's participation in the Garibaldian movement, though for a time believed even by his most intimate friends, turns out to have been erroneous. It was not unnatural that this report together with those of America's sympathies with the insurgents in Sicily, should have excited a momentary jealousy at Turin, at a period of extreme alarm, almost panic, indeed in official circles—but General Durando assures me that the Government of Italy entertains the most undoubting confidence in the impartial

[48] *Century* (Nov., 1907), 67.
[49] See letter of Garibaldi to Sanford, *ibid.*, 68.

good faith of the United States, and the sincerest desire to cultivate friendly relations with us. . . .

GEORGE P. MARSH[50]

Meanwhile, Chevalier Giuseppe Bertinatti,[51] the Italian Minister in Washington, had had several interviews with Seward on the subject of Canisius, Garibaldi's imprisonment, and on the general Italian situation. In a report to General Giacomo Durando,[52] dated in Washington, November 10, 1862, Chevalier Bertinatti summarized the attitude and position of the State Department in respect to these recent developments:

CXXIII

WASHINGTON,
November 10, 1862.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

The Cabinet's circular of September 10 produced in the Secretary of State the impression which was to be expected from him, knowing his well-known sympathy for the good and regular success of the Italian cause, and considering the tone of his despatch to the ex-consul of the United States at Vienna, Mr. Canisius.

Therefore, he charged me to congratulate the Government of His Majesty on his behalf, on the wise and energetic resolution it adopted in connection with the illegal and inopportune move attempted by General Garibaldi as well as on the admirable promptness and firmness with which it acted to check him. Mr. Seward believes that our cause will be greatly advanced as a result of the position we adopted in this difficult situation. He hopes for and wishes a successful termination of our highest national and legitimate aspirations. He expressed himself in these terms concerning the contents of the above-mentioned circular.

[50] MS in American Embassy, Rome.

[51] Chev. Giuseppe Bertinatti presented his credentials as Sardinian Chargé d'affaires and Consul General at New York about Oct. 2, 1855; presented his credentials as Sardinian Minister Resident on March 27, 1861; announced on April 11, 1861, that Victor Emmanuel II had assumed the title of King of Italy on March 7, 1861; presented his credentials as Italian Minister on July 30, 1864. He left the United States on leave on June 8, 1866.

[52] Giacomo Durando, 1807-1894, was Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs. After serving in military campaigns in Belgium and Portugal, in 1848 he returned to Italy to enlist in the Sardinian army. In 1849 he was appointed aide-de-camp to Victor Emmanuel, appointed senator in 1855, Minister of War during the Crimean War and Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1862.

Turning to private and confidential matters, he added: "Are you sure of the sincerity of your alliances? Isn't there perhaps an ulterior motive being hatched in the former Kingdom of the Two Sicilies? Do you believe that the unification of Italy may be as pleasant to other nations as it must be to your own? Will an attempt perhaps not be made to have you lose sight of your natural and historical capital by a dispassionate yearning for Venice? Inform yourself on these matters, since the news I received from Europe makes me somewhat uneasy about Italian affairs."

[Bertinatti][53]

Since the chief reason for the dismissal of Canisius had been due to his lack of consideration of the position of the Italian government, Melegari,[54] in a dispatch to Marsh, dated at Turin, November 15, 1862, urged that Canisius be restored to his post. In the absence of Marsh, the note from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was acknowledged by Green Clay,[55] on November 17, 1862, assuring Durando that he would communicate its contents to the American government. The two letters[56] are printed below:

Turin, November 15, 1862.

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of the communication with which you wished to apprise me of an extract of the report of the American Consul at Vienna, which you had the kindness to let me read.

His Majesty's Government deeply appreciates the complete spontaneity of the measure which the Government of the United States has deemed necessary to take in regard to this officer and the sentiments which prompted it. But we are convinced that the American Consul at Vienna, in writing to General Garibaldi the letter which caused his dismissal, acted only impulsively without realizing

[53] MS in Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rome.

[54] Luigi Amedeo Melegari, 1805-1881, was an active member of Mazzini's *Giovine Italia* ("Young Italy"). He was a professor of law at the University of Turin, 1848, and was Secretary General in the Rattazzi Cabinet. In 1862 he was appointed senator.

[55] Green Clay was appointed Secretary of the American Legation in Italy on April 10, 1862, and resigned on July 12, 1868.

[56] MSS in American Embassy, Rome.

the irregularity and indiscreetness of his action. Moreoever, we felt it our duty to refrain from making it the object of formal protests. Therefore, it would please us to see the Government of the United States overlook the error of this agent and reinstate him in his position.

You will oblige me, Mister Minister, in being kind enough to bring these wishes to the attention of your Government, thanking it for the kindness it has shown us.

Please accept, I beg you, the renewed assurances of my high esteem

MELEGARI

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES
TURIN, Nov. 17, 1862.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a note from His Majesty's Ministry of Foreign Affairs in relation to the removal of Mr. Canisius, late consul of the United States at Vienna, and will lose no time in communicating it to my Government.

Without presuming to say what action the President will take with regard to Mr. Canisius, I can safely assure Your Excellency that the generous manner in which the subject has been treated by the Italian cabinet will be appreciated by my Government and regarded as a new proof of the liberal and magnanimous sentiments which have always actuated His Majesty's Government in its relations with the United States.

GREEN CLAY

To H. E. Gen. Durando

In acknowledging receipt of this communication, Seward answered Marsh as follows:

No. 63

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON, Dec. 8, 1862.

George P. Marsh
Turin

SIR:

I have the honor to acknowledge the reception of your despatch of Nov. 17th No. 59, together with a copy of the note which was addressed to you by Mr. Melegari on the 15th ultimo in relation to the revocation of the commission of Mr. Theodore Canisius, Consul of the United States at Vienna. The President acknowledges with

pleasure the magnanimity which the Government of His Majesty has exhibited in this matter and has acceded to its request by restoring Mr. Canisius to his consulate.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD[57]

Dispatch No. 57, which should have contained Seward's reply to Mr. Marsh's communication of Garibaldi's offer, never reached the Legation at Turin; the only official acknowledgment of it which Marsh ever received was found in a paragraph of Seward's dispatch of December 26, 1862:

No. 64

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON, Dec. 26, 1862

George P. Marsh
Turin

SIR:

Your despatch of Nov. 28th No. 60, has been received. The Secretary of War has, I think, adopted a policy which does not contemplate the acceptance of bodies of troops organized in foreign countries, even with the consent of their Sovereigns. I have repeatedly received this exposition of his views—have received it from him, even in connection with the offer of Colonel Cattabene, as distinctly that I feel authorized to give it you now, as I think I have heretofore done, as the answer of the Government to that proposition.

The Secretary of War still retains under consideration the offer of General Garibaldi. It involves some considerations upon which the convenience of that Department must necessarily be consulted. It is a source of high satisfaction to know that the General has been so far relieved of his painful wound as to justify a hope of his rapid convalescence.

The information which your Despatch contains in relation to the Ministerial crisis in Italy is very interesting. We have through another channel the important news of the retirement of Mr. Rattazzi. It is not within my province to discuss the character or probable consequences of that proceeding. Constituted as Italy is, this Government and the whole American people cherish a very lively interest in the stability and welfare of that Kingdom. I sincerely

[57] MS in American Embassy, Rome.

hope, therefore, that no injurious consequences may result from the change of administration.

WM. H. SEWARD[58]

Garibaldi's offer was not acted upon favorably, chiefly because, in the meantime, the critical period in the conduct of the Civil War had passed, and also because, by this time, the North had several able army generals who were leading the Union soldiers in the field. There was no longer any need for the services of Garibaldi.

[58] MS in American Embassy, Rome. Reproduced in part by Gay, *Century* (Nov., 1907), 73.

THE POLITICAL METAMORPHOSIS OF ROBERT GREEN INGERSOLL

BY C. H. CRAMER

DEMOCRAT Ingersoll, 1860:

The Republicans believe that Congress should act as wet nurse and go over into the territories and bind diapers on the people... judging from the character of the most of that party...they are well-constituted to go into the diaper business...(Mr. Lincoln is a man) of no character—no reputation.[1]

Republican Ingersoll, 1876:

I have the honor to belong to the Republican party; the grandest, the sublimest party in the history of the world. This grand party is not only in favor of the liberty of the body, but also the liberty of the soul....The Republican party of the United States is the conscience of the nineteenth century....It is the party of advancement, of the dawn, of the sunrise.[2]

Mugwump Darrow, 1900:

Ingersoll believed in liberty so far as the church was concerned, but on political questions he seemingly was color blind. The older and more venerable a political superstition, the more he would cling to it.[3]

The Civil War witnessed the metamorphosis of Robert Green Ingersoll from an enthusiastic Democrat

[1] Report of a speech by Ingersoll, *Peoria Daily Transcript*, Aug. 3, 1860.

[2] Speech at Bangor, Maine, during the campaign of 1876. *The Works of Robert G. Ingersoll* (New Dresden ed.; New York, 1900), IX: 97-99.

[3] At an Ingersoll memorial meeting in Chicago. According to the newspaper report, one Ingersoll worshipper, his long gray beard shaking with indignation, interrupted Darrow's address and said this statement was an outrage. *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 27, 1900.

into a stolid Republican. The most interesting and significant steps along the way are found in the political campaigns of 1860, 1862, and 1864.

The election contest of 1860 was characterized by parades, joint debates by candidates, uniformed marching societies, and first-class billingsgate. The Republicans had their young men clad as Wide Awakes, wearing distinctive flat caps and jaunty black rubber capes. The Democrats countered with similar semi-adolescent organizations, called by various names: the Ever Readies, the Little Giants, the Douglas Clubs. Peoria had two good sized halls but they weren't enough for the choosy Republicans. They decided they must have a meeting place of their own, like the one in Chicago where Lincoln had been nominated. Result was a large rectangular structure with upright boards, called, of course, the Wigwam.[4]

The "Our Town" atmosphere of the approaching election in the city on the banks of the Illinois River was indicated in the Fourth of July revelry. There was a salute by cannon at sunrise, heard by rustics in the hinterland who began to pour into the town in great numbers. It was hot and clear by the time the parade formed. The following order is distinctive of an age when such merry-making was one of the chief means of mass entertainment:

Chief Marshal
Band of Music
Washington Rifle Company
Peoria National Blues
Young America Rifle Company

[4] Newton Bateman and Paul Selby, *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois and History of Peoria County* (Chicago and Peoria, 1901), II: 156.

Turners
Band of Music
Emmet Guards
Lafayette Rifle Company
Hibernian Benevolent Society
Orator (Ingersoll) and Clergy in Carriages
Members of the City Council in Carriages
Peoria Brass Band
Independent Fire Company, No. 1
Young America Fire Company, No. 2
Phoenix Hook and Ladder Company, No. 4
Butchers, 42 in Number on Horseback . . .
Coal Diggers from Fond du Lac Mines

The Peoria paper boasted that it took the procession thirteen minutes to pass a given point. Everything went well until the courthouse was reached. There, because of what was described by the reporter with remarkable understatement as a "want of efficiency or agreement on the part of those having the management of the procession," one part of the assembly went one way and the rest in an opposite direction, and general chaos prevailed. In time, however, the crowd reassembled to hear a prayer, a reading of the Declaration of Independence, and a declamation by twenty-eight year old Robert Ingersoll. By two o'clock—four hours after the start of festivities—the citizenry dispersed to their homes, replete with fun, information, and fatigue.[5]

A month later Ingersoll was nominated for Congress by the Democrats, to run against the Republican incumbent, Judge William Kellogg. The outstanding Republican paper in central Illinois was the *Peoria Daily Transcript*, while the *Daily Democratic Union* was the

[5] *Peoria Daily Transcript*, July 6, 1860.

organ of the Democracy. These two sheets reflected in their pages the turbulence of the vote-getting. Basically the issue was again Lincoln *vs*. Douglas—between the Republican desire to curb the extension of slavery in the territories and the stand of the Illinois Democrats in favor of popular sovereignty. Ingersoll thought that interference by a mothering Congress in the internal affairs of the territories (as proposed by the Republicans) represented too much maternal attention. He said it put Congress in the diaper business. The Republican *Daily Transcript* struck back at him for his point of view by concluding that:

> He should be left at home, to superintend the diaper business, while Kellogg shall be kept at Washington to look after the interests of the people....Bob has some genius...and we are rejoiced that he has at last turned his attention to a business as useful as diaper making. We have some hopes of Bob's making something yet. Let his name go down to posterity as the inventor of diapers for the Territories.[6]

It wasn't long before he had acquired the soubriquet, "Bob the Diaper Candidate."[7]

As was to be expected, both parties soon tired of trying to convince the other of the righteousness of their cause, and got down to campaign fundamentals, i.e., the job of attacking the public record and the private life of the respective candidates. Reports in the two papers of the candidates' speeches were almost identical—except for a change of names. The oratory of the party's representative was lauded, and the efforts of the rival were branded as sophomoric, mendacious, and treasonable. For example, the *Daily Democratic Union* would comment on Ingersoll's superior platform

[6] *Peoria Daily Transcript*, Sept. 26, 1860.
[7] *Ibid.*, Sept. 29, 1860.

technique and report that at "the close of the debate three rousing cheers were spontaneously given for Ingersoll, but not a dozen voices could unite in cheers for Kellogg."[8] The *Daily Transcript* had it the other way around, and added a few extra points of its own. It thought Ingersoll's maneuvering on the platform was muscular and not very graceful, "the most frequent gesture being the working up of each coat sleeve with the opposite hand, as if preparing to butcher an ox."[9]

Each party insisted that the party rolls of the other consisted of footpads, sharpers, and bushrangers. Typical is this Republican account of a Democratic barbecue:

> The crowd was made up principally of notorious rowdies, thieves, pickpockets, and burglars, and was noisy, ravenous, quarrelsome and outrageous. The scum and float—the idle vagabonds and drunk loafers...were all on hand....When the roasted ox and calf and sheep were attempted to be distributed in slices to the crowd...the rowdy gourmands seized and knocked down the waiters and policemen, grabbed the carcasses of the animals provided as food, and fought over them like a set of wolves.[10]

In Peoria the Republicans insisted that the Democrats sent brawlers to shout down Judge Kellogg, and that when he proved his points anyway, they fairly howled with rage.[11] They claimed that Ingersoll had a claque which was so addlepated that it yelled at the wrong places, to the annoyance of all, including Bob himself. It was suggested that a training period for claqueurs might be a good thing so they could learn to come in properly on their cues.[12]

Before long the characters of both candidates were being scrutinized and family skeletons were being rat-

[8] *Daily Democratic Union*, [Peoria], Aug. 30, 1860.
[9] *Peoria Daily Transcript*, Aug. 9, 1860.
[10] *Ibid.*, Sept. 17, 1860.
[11] *Ibid.*, Sept. 29, 1860.
[12] *Ibid.*

tled with much vigor and considerable noise. The Republicans insisted that Ingersoll's speeches consisted of puerile stories and lame attempts at wit with accompanying offers to bet—offers which the orator shouted from the platform.[13] The Democrats countered with the claim that Judge Kellogg had to run away from a town where he had been attending court to keep from being indicted for playing cards for large stakes.[14]

It was but a short step from charges of gambling to those of winebibbing and wenchery. This headline in the *Daily Transcript* made the news story which followed, something of an anticlimax:

BOB INGERSOLL GLORIOUSLY INEBRIATED
BLACKGUARDISM RAMPANT
A REGULAR BLOW-OUT
DISGRACEFUL EXHIBITION

It was claimed that Ingersoll was so beery that he said:

He didn't give a g—d d—n whether he was elected or not; he would carry out the principle or bust. If there were any there that did not want to vote for him, they might go to hell and be g—d d—d.[15]

The Republicans painted a lurid picture of the results of his sottish revelry:

Imagine to yourself a member of Congress sitting at a public table leaning upon both elbows, putting his hand first in the preserve dish, then taking hold of the butter with his fingers, then again meat in his hand "a la Turk" and you have the veritable, dignified, gentlemanly Bob, as he appeared at the supper table.[16]

Later when addressing the citizenry:

Attempting to lay down his views in a strong manner, he lost his balance and lay himself down... [Still later] He perambulated

[13] *Peoria Daily Transcript*, Aug. 8, 1860.
[14] *Daily Democratic Union*, Aug. 29, 1860.
[15] *Peoria Daily Transcript*, Oct. 24, 1860.
[16] "Observer" in *ibid.*, Oct. 23, 1860.

the streets, and when last seen was in a pugilistic attitude in antagonism to an Ever-Ready, saying "Damn ye, I'll bet you."[17]

Before long, the Republicans screamed, he was inclined to venery. It was claimed that in his hotel he met a female on the stair and took the grossest liberties with her person.[18]

The Democratic counterattack was dual in character: they claimed that the stories about their champion were all false, and to boot the Republican Judge's moral garments were full of rents. On the first point Ingersoll asserted that the Republican statements were "vile slanders, carried by men who were the legitimate offspring of the father of lies and who were sure to find quarters with him hereafter." In addition, the Judge was himself guilty of an interesting galaxy of moral lapses: he had been drunk in several towns; he had fallen off the platform in a tipsy descent at Bushnell; he was the sire of illegitimate offspring. As a matter of fact, the Democrats averred, slave owners in the South who *sold* their children were to be preferred over white men in the North (guess who?) who failed to provide for their bastards. As a clincher they added: "There are hundreds of living witnesses to Mr. Kellogg's immoralities, and, we might add, a few *living victims* to his vices." In summary, the Democrats gloated that the Judge was "full of maggots as an egg is of meat." By comparison with this hoaryheaded sinner, Bob Ingersoll was a saint.[19]

With epithets and broadsides of this calibre filling the air, tempers got a little strained. Before long, muscular arguments were being employed, or at least being

[17] *Peoria Daily Transcript*, Oct. 23, 1860.
[18] *Ibid.*, Oct. 24, 1860.
[19] *Daily Democratic Union*, Oct. 27, 28, 30, Nov. 1, 2, 1860.

threatened. Late in October, just before the voting, Ingersoll chanced to meet the editor of the rival newssheet on the street. The ensuing journalistic versions of the encounter were *ex parte*, of course, and present excellent reading. The *Daily Democratic Union*, in the corner for Champ Ingersoll, used the staccato style of a court reporter in reporting the imbroglio. Bob met the rival editor and asked him if he knew he was a low-lived liar and a contemptible puppy.

> Editor began to open his jaws to answer. Bob told him he shouldn't speak. Editor didn't speak, but drew a small knife. Bob told editor to put it back, or he would knock editor's head off. Editor put back knife. Bob gave his opinion of editor, but did not strike editor—he only told editor that if editor weighed fifty pounds more he would thrash ground with editor. . . . .Editor didn't weigh fifty pounds more, so Bob didn't thrash ground with editor . . . .It is not true, as circulated around town, that Bob shook editor —*editor shook himself*—Bob only put his hand on editor's shoulder to keep editor from going into "conniption fits."[20]

According to the Republican version, Bob had threatened punishment both now and hereafter—a whipping in the present if the editor opened his mouth, and "all sorts of vengeance" in the future if his name appeared in the paper again. This pronounciamento was followed by the application of "inelegant epithets." But, gloated the Republican martyr safe in his office the next day, it didn't work:

> Finding he could neither frighten nor bully, Ingersoll moved on himself, swearing if we said anything more about him in the *Transcript* he would cowhide us.

The story was used as a springboard for an editorial broadside which was Garrisonian in language. Editor Emery insisted that he would not be "frightened by

[20] *Daily Democratic Union*, Nov. 1, 1860.

every man who thinks license is logic, bravado to be legitimate argument, and ruffianism a passport to public esteem."[21]

The loving regard of the respective parties for each other was again indicated in the pre-election headlines. Screamed the Republican *Transcript* on November 5:

ILLEGAL VOTING—LET THE SCOUNDRELS BEWARE!
REPUBLICANS TO THE RESCUE! "UP BOYS AND AT THEM!"
IMPORTING VOTERS!
A DEMOCRATIC TRICK AND FRAUD!
LOOK OUT FOR THE FRAUDS!
MAKE NO BARGAIN WITH THE ENEMY!

The Democratic sheet showed the same respect for the integrity of its opponents. Its headlines:

ATTENTION!
EVER-READIES TO THE RESCUE!
THE FALSIFICATIONS OF THE TRANSCRIPT EXPOSED!
STOP THIEF!
WHAT A LYING SHEET!
A BASE FRAUD!
SPURIOUS TICKETS![22]

The election result was an anticlimax to all the tumult and the shouting. Judge Kellogg not only won, but he almost doubled his margin over the figures of 1858 (from 2400 to 4500). Ingersoll barely carried his home town of Peoria, 146 to 144. It appears that those who voted for Douglas also voted for Ingersoll—for example, the latter carried Peoria County by 200 votes, while the Little Giant's margin was 214.[23] The *Tran-*

[21] *Peoria Daily Transcript*, Oct. 31, 1860. I assume it was Emery. The paper was owned by Enoch Emery and Edward A. Andrews, who purchased it in 1860. Emery did most of the writing. He was well-known for his easily recognizable epigrammatic sentences and vigorous style, which made the paper the most influential Republican organ in central Illinois. It is of interest to note that Emery later became postmaster under Lincoln and Johnson, and collector of internal revenue under Grant. James M. Rice, *Peoria City and County Illinois* (Chicago, 1912), I: 409-10.

[22] *Daily Democratic Union*, Nov. 4, 1860.

[23] *Ibid.*, Nov. 8, 1860.

script, beside itself for joy, concluded: "The result... shows a poor return for all the money, whiskey, and gas expended by the 'diaper candidate' and his friends."[24]

This battle of the hustings concluded the pre-Civil War political career of the Peoria Democratic orator. The next year occurred the Pearl Harbor of 1861, at Fort Sumter. Bob Ingersoll in War turned out to be a very different political person from Bob Ingersoll in Peace. By September he was referring to Lincoln as a "pure and honest" man. At this time, however, the concession of some virtue in the Republican ranks extended only as far as the President. The cabinet was lousy, particularly the Secretary of the Navy "who couldn't row a dugout across a canal without drowning himself and family."[25]

The next year witnessed a complete split in the Democratic Party. Two factions appeared: the War Democrats who supported the Republican war administration; and the Regular Democrats, ultimately well-known as the Copperheads. Bob's brother, Ebon Clark Ingersoll, joined the War Democrats and was promptly rewarded by being nominated for Congress by the Republicans. By this time Bob was in the army, but he endorsed the pro-Republican stand of his brother in a letter from Corinth, Mississippi, written on September 22, 1862. The date is significant nationally and biographically. To the nation it represented the public announcement of the emancipation proclamation. To Robert Ingersoll it represented the casting aside of all bonds with the Democratic Party. In a curious mixed metaphor he referred to the work of the Regular Democrats as a "fire in the rear" which would dampen the

[24] *Daily Democratic Union*, Nov. 9, 1860.
[25] *Ibid.*, Sept. 2, 1861.

ardor of the army.[26] (Apparently the ardors of the campaign, to continue the figure, had done something to dampen the bright flame of Ingersollian rhetoric). The letter produced a glow of satisfaction in the editorial office of the paper which had once attacked him so cruelly. It pontificated:

> His opinions are those of a man whose keen sense of constitutional duty long led him to defend an institution which his own convictions of Right taught him to abhor and despise.[27]

By 1864 Colonel Robert Ingersoll was back in Peoria —a hero in spite of the fact that he had been captured and exchanged. Ebon was again a candidate for Congress, and brother Bob spoke for him and the Republicans almost every day, traveling all over the state. There were glowing accounts of his oratory. At Kickapoo a correspondent wrote: "Frequently the audience was affected to tears. All felt their manhood invigorated....But language fails me."[28] At Peoria, when Atlanta fell, a gigantic Republican meeting was held where "the utmost enthusiasm prevailed, and at its close cheers were given for Lincoln, Grant, Sherman, the army, navy, and Colonel Ingersoll."[29]

But the Democrats were up to their old tricks again. According to the *Transcript*, "they resorted to the Democratic argument of calling him a liar, and throwing potatoes and other missiles at him; hitting the women and children on the stand."[30] Both parties were back again to campaign fundamentals, and remembering the campaign of 1860, one is inclined to say "This is where I came in!"

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[26] *Peoria Daily Transcript*, Oct. 1, 1862.
[27] *Ibid.*
[28] *Ibid.*, Nov. 8, 1864.
[29] *Ibid.*, Sept. 6, 1864.
[30] *Ibid.*, Sept. 17, 1864.

And so it was that Robert Green Ingersoll, the Douglas Democrat of 1860, became the rampant Republican of 1864. So much prominence has been given to Ingersoll the Agnostic that few now recall the national prominence of Ingersoll the Republican. There is no doubt that if it had not been for his iconoclastic religious opinions, the party would have rewarded him with high office. As it was, he was the premier orator of the Grand Old Party in the thirty years after the war. He was a powerful influence in the party conventions and a perennial speaker at the hustings. The sublimity and the humor of his speeches caused his listeners to laugh and weep. Most eloquent of all his political efforts was the nomination speech in which he dubbed Blaine the "plumed knight." Most humorous was his caustic and laconic comment: "The Democratic Party has two principles: grand and petty larceny."

There are those who would say that he was grabbing at the main chance when he changed parties during the Civil War. I think they are wrong. Ingersoll was an intensely patriotic person and as far as we know acted entirely from that motive in changing his party allegiance. He had distinguished contemporaries who made the same switch without criticism—"Blackjack" Logan in his own state, "Tennessee" Johnson, "Cockeyed" Ben Butler—to mention only a few. One might well question the sincerity of Logan and Butler but few would quibble over the rugged honesty of Johnson. In like fashion, I see no reason to question the Civil War political motives of Ingersoll.

His candor *after* the patriotic exhilaration of the war period is another matter. The Republican Party had a pretty shabby record and certainly produced a mere

handful of outstanding men. One wonders if the orator from Peoria was bothered by any doubt as his crashing periods had their effect on his audiences—one ponders whether he had any qualms as he used his very real legal talents to extricate some of the shysters of his party from the scandalous messes into which their greed led them. In his private correspondence there is some evidence that he did. If so, he never indicated his doubts publicly. Perhaps he maintained his splendid silence out of loyalty to his friends. But there are some who would agree with Darrow in explaining the Ingersoll of this later period: "Ingersoll believed in liberty so far as the church was concerned, but on political questions he seemingly was color blind. The older and more venerable a political superstition, the more he would cling to it."[31]

[31] *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 27, 1900.

OWEN LOVEJOY IN PRINCETON, ILLINOIS

BY RUTH EWERS HABERKORN

IN the fall of 1838, a young man, with black hair, broad shoulders, and peculiar expressive blue eyes, was seen coming into Princeton on horseback. He was alone, and a stranger, without means, being in search of a place to make his future home, and came here by mere chance. This man was Owen Lovejoy, subsequently of political celebrity." Thus did Nehemiah Matson, Bureau County's superb story teller of pioneer days, tell how Lovejoy and Princeton, Illinois, first became associated.[1]

After Lovejoy's immediate appointment as pastor of the Hampshire Colony Congregational Church and the recognition of his power as a leading abolitionist,

> Princeton became a place of note; although containing but few inhabitants, and having but little commercial relation with other parts of the world, it was, nevertheless, the head center of abolitionism for the west....Even slaves at the south heard of it, and many of them came to see it, which caused Col. Barksdale in a speech in Congress, to denounce Princeton as one of the greatest negro stealing places in the west.[2]

In the famous People *v.* Lovejoy trial of 1843, this preacher-abolitionist was indicted by a grand jury on a "nigger-stealing" charge, and with the help of a Chicago lawyer defended his own case, wringing a "not guilty" verdict from a hostile jury. A pro-slavery man

[1] Nehemiah Matson, *Reminiscences of Bureau County* (Princeton, Ill., 1872), 363.
[2] *Ibid.*, 364.

is said to have told the state's attorney to convict the preacher and send him to prison. The answer was that the prosecution would be a "sight more likely to send him to Congress," which prophecy proved true.[3]

After seventeen years as minister in the Congregational Church at a salary of $600 and less per year, Lovejoy resigned when elected to Congress. There for nine years, until his death in 1864, he kept the representatives from the slave states in the frying pan.

Owen Lovejoy was born January 6, 1811, in Albion, Kennebec County, Maine, and died in Brooklyn on March 25, 1864. His father was a clergyman who lived on a farm, as most preachers of the early day were forced to do. Owen's schooling was limited and he did all kinds of farm work until he was eighteen years old. Having an ambition to teach school, he prepared himself as best he could and then worked his way through Bowdoin College.[4]

After coming to Alton, Illinois, in 1836 to join his brother, Elijah Parish Lovejoy, he spent a year studying theology, mostly under his brother's tutorship. On November 7, 1837, a mob murdered Elijah P. Lovejoy, and Owen knelt by his grave vowing to carry on the anti-slavery work of his martyred brother.

Just how he was to do this he did not know. He was alone in the West and probably had no money except what he could earn through labor. Where he was and what he did in that year, between his brother's death and his coming to Princeton, is unknown history. When he came to that northern Illinois town which was to become his home, he was riding a horse and undoubtedly had all his worldly goods in his saddlebags.

[3] H. C. Bradsby, *History of Bureau County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1885), 333.
[4] *Ibid.*, 332.

A guiding destiny brought Owen Lovejoy to a church that needed him, and to a town where he could become a great power in the Underground Railroad. More than any other one man, Lovejoy made Princeton famed among western towns, a haven for Negroes, hated by southern slaveholders, and a name of repute in Washington, D. C.

HAMPSHIRE COLONY CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH

Owen Lovejoy became the second minister of this seven year old Princeton church which had been the foundation stone of the town's settlement. The eighteen colonists from Northampton, Hampshire County, Massachusetts, in 1831, had founded their settlement on prayer, and the town of Princeton had grown more rapidly than most prairie towns. It soon became the county seat of a new county named Bureau, formerly Putnam County, and originally a part of the vast Peoria County.

In the first three record books of the early Congregational Church, small leather-bound volumes now kept in a bank vault, the church clerks noted only bare facts, but their clear handwriting in unfaded ink proves authoritative dates in Lovejoy's history. They show that his pastorate covered the seventeen years between the fall of 1838 and the close of 1855. He was at first hired temporarily, since their minister, the Reverend Lucien Farnham, had been given a leave of absence due to ill health. Soon, however, Farnham resigned. Lovejoy was promised $600 a year for support, for which subscription papers were circulated. Once he "resigned" because of inadequate salary, and another time he refused to take a cut in salary, though he probably had to acquiesce to

the church quota in the end. This was not such a great hardship for him as he had married a widow with 1,280 acres of land which he farmed during the period of his ministry. His final resignation took effect on January 1, 1856, after he had been elected to Congress.

The first Congregational Church, built in 1835, stood somewhere between the present courthouse and jail. It was a box-like building on stilts, made of hand-hewn timbers from Bureau Creek and of rough boards sawed at a near-by mill. Candles lighted it at night when necessary but there is no mention made of heat, although the building was used as a school, and court was held in it until the first courthouse was built in 1845. It was sold at auction for $200.50 in December, 1848, and moved away.[5] In 1848 bricks for a new building at the present South Church Street location were furnished by John Howard Bryant from his own kilns. This building served until 1868, so that Lovejoy was connected with both of these first two church buildings.

Few people know that the bell which now strikes the hours and half-hours in the Congregational Church clock is the original "Lovejoy bell," purchased through his efforts in 1850. He personally went to Troy, New York, to make sure that its tone was satisfactory. The bell was rung three times daily. In the Nineties it cracked but was recast and later was placed in the clock.

LOVEJOY'S MARRIAGE

Owen Lovejoy made his home in Princeton with a young couple, the Butler Denhams. Their new home was then three-quarters of a mile east of the village,

[5] *The First Hundred Years*, a bound booklet published 1931 for the centennial of the Hampshire Colony Congregational Church, Princeton, Ill.

but the town has grown during the century and the same Denham home, now famed as the "Lovejoy Homestead," is just outside the east city limits on U. S. Route 6. Lovejoy, however, never owned this or any other real estate. The Denham brothers, Butler and Luther, had come to this community in 1838 from Massachusetts. They were pioneers in stockbreeding and raising, which then was thought to be a "rather premature scheme but in the right direction."

Butler Denham and his young wife, Eunice Storrs, secured 1,280 acres of prairie land close to Princeton on the east. They built their home on the eighty acres that was "paid for in full," each of the other eighties "being subject to sale at Galena."[6] The original landgrants, signed: "By the President: Martin Van Buren. By: Martin Van Buren, Jr., Secy.," are now in the possession of Attorney J. L. Spaulding of Princeton, present owner of the Homestead.

Several years later, Butler Denham, during a long, serious illness, knew that he could not recover and, tradition says, told his wife that she must marry again as she would need help to carry on the farm work and care for her family. He died on August 8, 1841, and one of his three little daughters was born shortly after his death.

Owen Lovejoy and Mrs. Eunice Storrs Denham were married on January 18, 1843, by Charles Adams, V.D.M., according to the handwritten marriage license record.[7] The small Denham girls were known by the name of

[6] Certificate 1429 in office of Bureau County circuit clerk, Princeton, Ill., reads as follows: West half of northwest quarter of section 15 in township 16 of range 9 east in district of lands subject to sale at Galena, Ill.

[7] Book A, p. 67, in office of Bureau County clerk, Princeton, Ill. A number of marriage certificates in same book are signed by "Owen Lovejoy, M.G." [Minister of Gospel].

Lovejoy, although Lovejoy never adopted the children.

Butler Denham, Owen Lovejoy, and Mrs. Lovejoy left no wills, and their estates were divided among legal heirs. The Denham estate, at the time of Butler's death, was appraised at a little over $12,000, and went to his widow and three daughters. The value of Mrs. Lovejoy's portion of the estate at the time of her death in 1899 totaled less than $12,000, which was divided among the three Denham daughters and the five living Lovejoy children. Owen Lovejoy left an estate of only $8,180.33 at his death in 1864, all of which was in personal property. After the death in 1931 of his son, E. Parish, who was the last member of the family living in Princeton, the heirs disposed of the property, much of which had been left to him by his half sister, Mary Denham.[8]

Data on the children and grandchildren of the Lovejoy family will be found at the end of this article.

THE MARTYRED BROTHER

The *Memoir of the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy Who Was Murdered in Defense of the Liberty of the Press at Alton, Ill. Nov. 7, 1837* was written by the brothers, Joseph C. and Owen Lovejoy, and published in 1838 in New York.[9] In it the authors tell of their grandfather, Francis Lovejoy, born in 1733, who moved in 1790 from Amherst, New Hampshire, to Albion, Kennebec County, Maine. There he built a home in the wilderness on a beautiful site near a small lake where the family could swim and fish. Their grandmother was a devout woman with a great influence over her son, Daniel, born in 1776, who became a minister. While studying in Byfield, Massa-

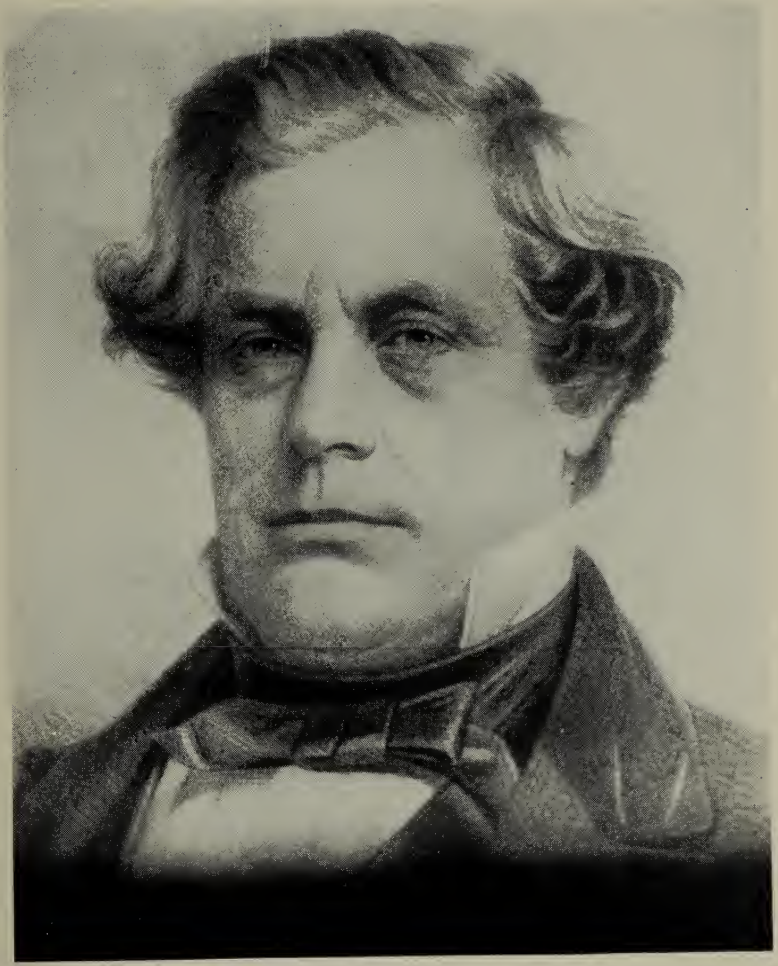
[8] Wills and estates filed in office of county clerk of Bureau County.
[9] A copy of this rare book is in Matson Public Library, Princeton, Ill.

chusetts, Daniel lived with the family of the Reverend Elijah Parish and later he named his own first-born son after this minister. The name has been handed down in the family for four generations.

The Reverend Daniel Lovejoy married Elizabeth Pattee, of Scottish descent, who was born in 1772 at Georgetown, Maine. Their family consisted of two daughters, Sibyl and Elizabeth, and five sons, Elijah P., Owen, Joseph, John, and Daniel. The Reverend Mr. Lovejoy died in 1833. Some years later his widow came to live with their son, Owen, in Princeton, where she often voiced a devout "Amen" to his sermons. Her death occurred in 1857 and she is buried in Oakland Cemetery, Princeton, near the grave of her son.

The *Memoir* states that Elijah Parish, born on November 9, 1802, and undoubtedly the other children also, learned his letters from his mother at home. After some study in small eastern schools, he went west in 1827 and edited a political newspaper in St. Louis. A change in his religious feelings led him to study for the ministry at Princeton, New Jersey, returning to St. Louis to start a religious weekly in 1833. Becoming more and more outspoken as an abolition writer, he was forced to move to Alton, Illinois, where, after the destruction of three of his presses, he was killed on November 7, 1837, by an angry mob.

Elijah Parish Lovejoy left a wife and small son, Edward, but mystery surrounds them. What little is known is a story of privation and hard work on the part of the mother to educate her son. Then follow, for the son, ups and downs in California, loss of fortune, aimless wandering about the West, laboring on a railroad in Nevada, and finally, through notice of his fa-



Owen Lovejoy (1811-1864)

mous name, a better position and comfortable living.[10] There is no evidence that he was ever in touch with his Uncle Owen in Princeton.

THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD

Owen Lovejoy was an abolitionist above all else, and his name was either revered or hated in the North and always hated in the South. His pulpit gave him an opportunity for spreading his deep belief through his gift of oratory. His political aspirations were not personal, but solely for furthering the work of freeing the slaves. Even his home was given over to that purpose and became one of the most famed of the underground stations.

The cause of abolition was unpopular even in the North, so why did Owen Lovejoy so vehemently espouse it? The one answer is: His vow. Kneeling on the prairie sod that November day in 1837, beside the grave of his martyred brother on the Mississippi bluff at Alton, he "before God swore eternal war and vengeance upon slavery."[11]

In a sermon preached in January, 1842, in the Princeton Congregational Church, he told of the death of his brother and said, "Come life or death, I will devote the residue of my life to the anti-slavery cause. The slaveholders and their sympathizers have murdered my brother, and if another victim is needed, I am ready." Turning to his mother, he continued, "Mother, you have given one son, your eldest, to liberty; are you willing to give another?" To which his mother heroically

[10] C. E. Lovejoy, *Lovejoy Genealogy* (New York, 1930). Further information on the family tree was furnished by E. P. (Pat) Lovejoy of Detroit, Mich.

[11] Bradsby, *History of Bureau County*, 335, quotes Arnold in his 1881 speech as saying he [Arnold] heard Lovejoy tell how he had made the vow.

replied, "Yes, my son. You cannot die in a better cause."[12]

The underground railroad was maintained in the northern states to aid Negro slaves in their attempts to reach Canada and freedom. The Princeton station was probably the most important in Illinois, not because of any particularly strategic position, but on account of the powerful personality of its conductor.

Most of the escaped slaves passing through Princeton were brought there from the Galesburg station operated by Samuel McAnulty. The Galesburg house is still standing at 129 North Kellogg Street. Through trap doors may be seen low underground waiting rooms where black folk had to crouch or lie down while awaiting transportation to Princeton. Macomb was the station to the south of Galesburg,[13] and from Princeton the fugitives were taken to Lowell in LaSalle County where Zebina Eastman was station master. The transportation was usually by wagon with the Negro hidden under the load of hay or straw, and preferably on moonless nights. There were seldom any losses, though sometimes there had to be quick thinking and clever strategy, with irate crowds realizing too late that they had been duped.

Historian Matson says that John Cross, a Wesleyan minister living at LaMoille, a village near Princeton, was general superintendent of the underground railroad until Lovejoy succeeded him. Cross had handbills and large posters circulated about the country advertising the unpaid business of assisting slaves. The bills were headed with a picture of a bobtail horse and dearborn

[12] Bradsby, *History of Bureau County*, 335.

[13] McAnulty's grandson, William Farlow of Galesburg, furnished this information to the *Peoria Journal-Transcript* for a Sunday feature story, winter of 1941-1942.

wagon, said to have been designed from the outfit of a Bureau County pioneer, Eli Smith. The driver was leaning forward whipping the horse, while the heads of two darkies peered from under the seat.

Owners usually followed close behind their runaway chattels and were surprised and baffled at the ease and quickness with which the slaves evaded capture. Professional slave catchers, well-paid but despised, were frequently hired by owners of escaped slaves. Aiding a fugitive was almost an everyday occurrence in Illinois stations, where they were hidden in shallow wells, hollow tree trunks, caves, closets, cellars, in haymows, under woodpiles, or any sort of unexpected and improbable place. Lovejoy's manner of talking with the slave catchers would so confuse them that they could seldom follow their victims.

Very few stories about escapes through the Princeton station ever got into print, and then not for years afterward. Legends, however, and word-of-mouth stories were numerous among the old-timers who did not write them down for the benefit of history. Now what little is available is recorded in Matson's and Bradsby's histories and in a letter written by Justice H. Olds in 1874.[14] All sources tell of the young runaway slave, John Buckner, who came to Princeton about 1849, and soon became a favorite with the townspeople. While he was mowing grass one day at the north edge of town, his master and another man from Palmyra, Missouri, appeared, held pistols to his head, tied his hands behind him, and led him by a rope through the main street. News of the

[14] Lovejoy Papers (Museum of Bureau County Historical Society, Princeton, Ill.). The first wedding in Bureau County was that of Justice Olds and Louisa Bryant, a sister of the poet and of the four other Bryant brothers who were among the earliest settlers of Princeton, Ill.

capture spread rapidly by the grapevine, and people excitedly organized themselves for the rescue. A warrant was issued and the slave catchers were arrested on a kidnapping charge. With John, still roped, they were taken to the courthouse for trial. Among the crowd in the courtroom were both those who backed the master and those who sympathized with the slave. One of the latter quietly cut the rope and in the confusion John escaped with the agitated crowd following.

One account says that Lovejoy yelled, "Run, John, run," and that Lovejoy's servant was on hand with a saddled horse. Another version is that John was put on a horse having a woman's saddle, which was hitched to the rack. At any rate he was soon at the Lovejoy homestead, but was so frightened that he could scarcely creep into the house.

The crowd, following, was kept at bay outside the crisscross board fence surrounding the homestead. Lovejoy himself admitted friends but kept nonsympathizers outside. In one case, he pinched a rioter in the gate who, sobered, was glad to retreat. Then someone saw a dark-looking man mount a horse behind the barn and shouted, "There goes the Negro." The slave party on horseback pursued. Up toward Dover they raced and at last caught their prize. Pulling the black veil off his face, they found their Princeton neighbor, Bliss Waldo, an abolitionist with a very dark complexion, who had fooled them more than once.

Duped and infuriated, the crowd returned to Lovejoy's home bent on vengeance, and tried to force themselves into the house. The preacher, ever calm and ready for emergencies, forbade them to do so without due process of law, so they sent a messenger to the court-

house for a search warrant. While they waited, quite satisfied with their tactics, a wagon with nothing in it but some empty bags, was driven slowly from the barnyard and down the road to the east. No one had paid any attention to a figure, probably in woman's clothes, which, a short time before, had gone from the house to the barn with a basket on its arm. The disguised Negro, lying under those empty bags, escaped.

PEOPLE V. LOVEJOY

The "Lovejoy trial" at Princeton is well known among Illinois legal circles although few people know the actual facts concerning it. Bureau County historians have recorded only parts of it, and errors have been made in its telling even by members of the bar. The following story of the trial is condensed from Attorney J. L. Spaulding's explanations of the documents,[15] from local histories, and from a speech given by the Honorable Isaac N. Arnold before the Illinois Bar Association in 1881.[16]

Owen Lovejoy was indicted by the grand jury of Bureau County during the May term of circuit court, 1843, on two counts involving the harboring of two slave women, Agnes, on March 1, 1842, and Nancy on February 1, 1843. The indictment stated that he secreted them in his house, clothed and comforted them, gave them aid, and conveyed them to places of safety.

[15] Original legal papers of case No. 64 and parts of three other cases filed in office of Bureau County circuit clerk. Attorney Spaulding separated the jumbled and confusing papers and explained them for use in this article. The four cases are: 1. Grand jury indictment against Lovejoy. 2 and 3. Assault and battery cases naming Lovejoy and others. 4. Riot case, same affair, but Lovejoy not named.

[16] Isaac N. Arnold, "Reminiscences of the Illinois Bar Forty Years Ago," *Fergus Historical Series*, no. 14 (Chicago, 1881), 138-39; also excerpt in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXXI, no. 3 (Springfield, 1938), 355. Arnold makes an error in the date of trial which occurred in 1843, not 1842.

Lovejoy was held to $500 bail, was tried by a jury during the October term of court and, after a stormy trial lasting nearly a week, was acquitted on October 7, 1843. All but three of the legal documents of this trial have been lost. Remaining are: the indictment, the motion to quash the indictment which was written by Lovejoy himself but was evidently overruled as the case came up for jury trial, and the $500 bond for his appearance signed by Chamberlain. The most important paper of all, the "not guilty" verdict of the jury, is among the missing.

Lovejoy was represented by Attorney James H. Collins of Chicago, an abolitionist, who was "indefatigable, dogmatic, never gave up and always ready with another point." It was not Collins' legal ability alone which saved Lovejoy, but his own masterful pleading of his case. This opportunity to advance his abolition views was exactly to his liking, and went far to wring the "not guilty" verdict from an otherwise hostile jury. A strong point in the technical ground for defense was the fact that the "name of the alleged owner was not given, nor state or district where he resided."

The prosecution was represented by Judge Norman H. Purple, noted for his logical ability, clear concise style, and wide culture, and by B. F. Fridley, state's attorney pro tem, who had quaint humor, used apt illustrations, and plain, even vulgar, speech. John Dean Caton, the presiding judge, was a justice of the Supreme Court of Illinois for some years.

The other two or three cases shown among the legal papers of the trial, arose from one cause. They are not connected with the "Agnes-Nancy" trial although they occurred in the same year. These legal papers are filed

in the same folder and, until sorted, caused confusion. Bradsby, in his 1885 Bureau County history, must have found not only the original legal papers but firsthand information, for he tells the following story in regard to these other cases.

Lovejoy and Ichabod Codding started from the Lovejoy home on August 1, 1843, to hold an anti-slavery meeting in LaMoille, a nearby town northeast of Princeton. They met a well dressed mulatto riding a fine horse who told them of a deceit that had befallen him in Princeton where he had spent the previous night at an inn. He had offered the landlord, Roth, a Kentucky ten dollar bill which could not be changed. When he found that his lodging had been but seventy-five cents, he had paid it in exact change and asked for the return of his bill which the landlord had refused him.

Lovejoy, Codding, and the mulatto returned to the Princeton inn but were unable to get the money because the landlord said it was but two dollars he had received. As they went back toward LaMoille, the Negro admitted that he had considerable money with him which he had foolishly displayed. In the meantime Roth and other similar-minded men set out to follow them, and upon arriving in LaMoille secured a warrant from a justice of the peace for the arrest of the Negro who they claimed had counterfeit money.

Lovejoy told the Negro to get on his horse and fly, but a man named Davis who had been hired to watch, flourished a knife in front of the horse. Someone seized Davis from behind, pinioned his arms, and threw him to the ground. When he tried to use his knife, Lovejoy put a foot on his arm and held it until the knife was taken from him, and when at last he was permitted to

get up, the Negro was safely away.

The following day, Davis filed an affidavit before a justice of the peace charging Owen Lovejoy, Seth Clapp, Caleb Cook, and Bertram Lockwood, with assault and battery. The case was heard in the court of Robert C. Masters who "found the defendant guilty of a most outrageous assault and battery," and fined Lovejoy $50 and costs of $10. Lovejoy's bond was filed on October 1, 1843, and the case was appealed to circuit court but was dismissed. The papers, what are left of them, look as though he had to pay the fine.

A "riot" case was an outgrowth of the same affair. On October 11, 1843, a writ against Lovejoy and others for "riot" was issued and all were bound over to the October, 1844, term of circuit court. The indictment was probably found during the May, 1844, term of court. The jury appears to have disagreed at the riot trial, and the case or cases were finally nolle prossed. The same names appear as in the assault and battery case with the addition of Timothy Edwards, Samuel Edwards, and P. B. Rust.

Among the papers is an explanation to the supervisors of Bureau County signed by Caleb Cook and Seth C. Clapp and which may concern the possible fourth case, of which there seems to be evidence among the remaining legal papers. Lovejoy's name is not included in this particular case although it has to do with the same "riot" case. The explanation states that Davis came into a peaceful meeting and assaulted a man who left the room with Davis in pursuit. The people followed, Davis drew a knife and threatened to cut his way through the crowd but was restrained, and the knife was wrested from him with no further violence to him

than was necessary. Cook had to pay a fine of $20 and costs, Clapp $25 and costs. They refer to Davis as a "miserable, worthless vagabond" and say that he made extravagant statements under oath, and after the trial had to flee because he had forged a note. Cook and Clapp petitioned the supervisors for an order upon the county treasurer to remit their fines, but there is no further record of what happened.

LOVEJOY IN POLITICS

Lovejoy's surroundings were never peaceful. He was not a belligerent man unless his one purpose in life was challenged and then he fought hard. He believed wholeheartedly in freedom for all men, and he possessed a courage that assisted every slave who came through his station but defied their owners. On every occasion possible he talked his beliefs, and more and more he made his pulpit an abolition stronghold. His propaganda, as it would now be called, was through speech and action, seldom through the printed word. With the exception of the *Memoirs* written by him and his brother, he apparently wrote nothing save sermons, and speeches in the national House of Representatives. Only copies of a couple of sermons and officially printed copies of four congressional speeches are to be found.

A comparison of the two sermons shows a development in his application of religion. In the one of July, 1844, about six years after he arrived in Princeton as the Congregational minister, he rambled through abstract, orthodox thoughts without anything of practical value for everyday living. It was the type of sermon which always has lulled good men to sleep.

The second of the two available sermons came six

years later, in June, 1850, and is entitled, "The Morning Cometh." By then he had something tangible to give his listeners, and he was trying hard to arouse their sense of obligation toward their colored brethren. Those whose sympathies were not stirred must have been irritated by his boldness. He was discovering that problems of society have their place in the pulpit, and the people liked his oratory even though most of them questioned his radical ideas. There is little to quote from this sermon and nothing from the first, but the reading of them indicates the growth of the man.

Six years after Lovejoy's entrance into the ministry, his reputation as an abolitionist had spread so widely that he evidently began to feel the need of political power to fulfill his life purpose. He first ran as a candidate for Congress on the Liberty Party ticket and was defeated in 1844. Again he was defeated in 1847 as candidate for the constitutional convention, when Simon Kinney won by only twenty votes. In 1854 he was elected to the Illinois legislature, a good steppingstone to a bigger place.

Lovejoy's greatest political victory came in 1856 when, by one vote, he won the nomination for Congressman from the 38th Congressional District of Illinois. He was elected four times in succession for two-year terms, and died in office on March 25, 1864, near the completion of his fourth term.

In the four available congressional speeches of 1858, 1859, 1860, and 1863, he was at his best, and climaxed his vow for freedom with powerful and picturesque oratory. The last two speeches caused riotous discussion. He used the eloquent oratory popular in his day, with numerous metaphors and many references to Bibli-

Mrs. Owen Lovejoy (1809-1899)

cal, historical, and literary classics.[17] Although ornate, the speeches are well-phrased and easy to read, and one can feel the force which was back of every spoken word. He was never easy on his audiences for he aroused all who heard him either to agreement or disagreement. He had something to say, and he said that something in very certain terms. In the 1858 speech he denied the edict of President Buchanan and the Chief Justice that "the constitution regards slaves as property," in the Kansas-as-a-slave-state controversy.

The gem of his speeches is the one of 1859 when he proclaimed in Congress:

> Owen Lovejoy lives at Princeton, Illinois, three quarters of a mile east of the village, and he aids every fugitive that comes to his door and asks it. Proclaim it then upon the housetops. Write it on every leaf that trembles in the forest, make it blaze from the sun at high noon, and shine forth in the milder radiance of every star that bedecks the firmament of God. Let it echo through all the arches of heaven, and reverberate and bellow along all the deep gorges of hell, where slave catchers will be very likely to hear it. Thou invisible demon of slavery, dost thou think to cross my humble threshold and forbid me to give bread to the hungry and shelter to the houseless! I bid you defiance in the name of my God!

This excerpt is engraved on a copper plate now hanging above the fireplace in the Lovejoy Homestead. In this speech he cited several stories of help given to fugitive slaves.

The 1860 speech caused a commotion in the House that was "probably without parallel in history." In his vehemence he advanced from his seat into the

[17] Lovejoy Papers. Four congressional speeches, printed on fine quality of paper, yellowed but well-preserved, and folded into eight-page booklets with uncut edges are: a. Human beings not property, Feb. 17, 1858. b. The fanaticism of the Democratic Party, Feb. 21, 1859. c. The barbarism of slavery, April 5, 1860. d. Remarks of Lovejoy and W. M. Dunn of Kentucky, Jan. 29, 1863. The first two are uninterrupted speeches, but the last two, especially the third, are records of near riot in the House caused by Lovejoy's defiance of the opposition.

arena facing the Democratic benches where sat his Southern enemies. A Virginia Representative shouted:

> This gentleman from Illinois...shall *not* come upon this side... shaking his fist in our faces and talking in the style he has talked. It is bad enough to...sit here and hear him utter his treasonable and insulting language. But he *shall not*...come upon this side of the House, shaking his fists in our faces.

Heated and loud discussions took up a large part of the time allotted to Lovejoy on that occasion. In reply to one Southerner's statement that they did not want to intimidate him, he replied, "Nobody can intimidate me." He was called such names as "black hearted scoundrel," "nigger stealing thief," "perjurer," "infamous villain," and told that he was "crazy."

At the end of the riotous hour, a Virginian said, "If you come among us, we will do with you as we did with John Brown—hang you up....I say that as a Virginian." Lovejoy answered him, "I have no doubt of it."

LOVEJOY THE MAN

In his public life as abolitionist, Congressman, and even as a minister, there is considerable material available concerning Lovejoy, although all of it is unassembled and somewhat difficult to unearth. But Lovejoy as a family man, a husband, a father of nine children, a farmer with four sections of land and considerable livestock, and as a good pioneer neighbor—all this is unwritten biography with no person left now who knows.

After his death, his daughters made an effort to have a biography of their father written. Letters among the Lovejoy Papers from several literary men of the day show their interest in the venture, but no one was willing to undertake the work although there seems to have

been some thought of writing it for *Harper's Magazine*.

As time passed the family became more and more reticent, and their dislike of any publicity has left untold many stories of the great abolitionist's everyday personality. Bradsby, the historian, bemoaned the lack of biographical material only twenty years after Lovejoy's death. Today it is too late to write the well-rounded story of the man's many-faceted character, the kind of biography he deserves.[18]

The only available description of Lovejoy is in the Bureau County history published in 1885 by H. C. Bradsby, who spent several years in Princeton doing historical research. Although he had never met Lovejoy, he talked with many townspeople who had known him intimately. Their stories and remarks, together with the few church, court, and congressional records, must have formed the basis for his data which is undoubtedly correct. He thought Lovejoy, in many respects, one of the most extraordinary men that his age produced, both physically and mentally. "His physical courage was in its calm, quiet, deep and unruffled flow never surpassed." Two classes of people were among the preacher's neighbors—those who idealized him and those who did not, and the historian concludes that "there was a grain of truth on each side."

There was both secret and open resistance to Lovejoy's beliefs when he first came to Princeton. Quoting Bradsby:

> At that time but few people in Illinois had thought or concerned themselves about either slaves or slaveowners. They opposed it coming among them, and this was all. They cared but little what

[18] The Reverend D. Heagle, *The Great Anti-slavery Agitator, Owen Lovejoy, as a Gospel Minister* (Princeton, 1886). This little booklet also contains some of his remarks in Congress, but is in no wise a real biography.

other States might do. They knew that the leading best men in the South...had advocated and taken steps looking to eventual emancipation and colonization of the slaves and thus, in the slow process of time, ridding the country, not only of slavery, but of the presence of the negro....Hence, it was a rude awakening to many when the new preacher, in Princeton, began to preach that slavery was the crime of crimes.[19]

Again the Princeton abolitionist is likened to a Roundhead of Cromwell's time since Lovejoy was almost fanatical in politics and would have died for his principles. His blunt eloquence made him unequaled as a stump speaker. With intense emotion, great magnetism, a heart of fire and a tongue of lightning, he preached his crusade against slavery everywhere. The name of his martyred brother made an excuse for his violence of speech. But through all his fiery oratory and unusual actions, he remained inwardly calm and unruffled.

One neighbor recalled to Bradsby that he, as a boy, had thrown clods at the abolitionist preacher, for he reasoned that even a white boy was not safe near a man who "stole niggers—he might eat up white boys." The boy and his gang were nervous and never got near enough to Lovejoy to know him, but later in life he became a staunch supporter of the man who gradually had become his ideal.

A Princeton resident wrote after Lovejoy's death that the "old church was almost unanimous in its opposition" to abolition, but Lovejoy vowed that he would "preach it until the members were as much abolition as he was and then they would like to hear it. And this he soon accomplished....Lovejoy was always true to his principles and never compromised them for expediency. He was always bold and fearless and the objects

[19] Bradsby, *History of Bureau County*, 337.

he wished to accomplish were never concealed."[20]

The only authentic and personal description of Owen Lovejoy in his home life came from Dr. John Lovejoy Elliot, head of the Ethical Culture Society in New York City, who died in 1942. His mother was Elizabeth Denham, the youngest of Lovejoy's three stepdaughters. She was born in 1842 and died in 1925, and Dr. Elliot's statements are largely from family stories told him by his mother. He could well remember his Grandmother Lovejoy who died in 1899, as he was born and reared on one of the Denham-Lovejoy farms at Princeton not far from the Homestead. In his letter of February, 1942, in response to inquiry, Dr. Elliot says:

> Owen Lovejoy's home life...was one of my mother's favorite themes. She not only honored—in some ways adored—Owen Lovejoy, but she, certainly, and all the other members of the family, enjoyed him very much and looked forward to his being at home as a particularly happy event....He had an absorbing passion which was made not only deep, but also dominant, because of his brother's death....He was a good father and stepfather to all of the children.
>
> For instance, my mother spoke of their having a great many good laughs together. To be with Owen Lovejoy was a special privilege and happiness. Their attitude may in part have been due to the great position which he had in the local community and also in the nation, but the personal relations were always, so far as I know, of the kind I have mentioned. Owen Lovejoy brought to them not only the sense of great events and a great personality, but the jolly, friendly things of family life.

Dr. Elliot tells of the esteem in which the children held Mrs. Lovejoy as well, describing her as a "gentlewoman, quite reserved in manner and aristocratic in appearance." Her pictures bear this out. After the death of Owen Lovejoy she seldom left the house although she did on some rare occasions visit friends.

[20] Lovejoy Papers.

The youngest of the grandchildren, known as "Pat" to differentiate him from the other Elijah Parish Lovejoys, is now an engineer in Detroit. He is the donor of the Lovejoy Papers, original documents and clippings on file in the historical museum at Princeton. He was born at the Homestead in Princeton the year following his Grandmother Lovejoy's death. In reply to a request for information in regard to the home life of the Owen Lovejoys, he wrote:

> From all reports he was a most kindly man and she an unusually controlled, dainty and forthright woman. It was a large family and they did a tremendous amount of work, in which she must have had a part, but the stories I remember are that when anyone came to see her, she was always tidily dressed, wearing a lace cap, rocking in the conservatory.

The "conservatory" is the large, glass-enclosed porch on the front of the Homestead which Mrs. Lovejoy always kept filled with plants.

Owen Lovejoy must have had to devote considerable time to the management of the huge farm, and he evidently carried on the purebred livestock breeding commenced by Butler Denham, his wife's first husband. Bradsby, in telling of the livestock breeding in Bureau County, mentioned two purebred heifers and a bull (probably Shorthorns) which Lovejoy bought in Kentucky in 1863.

A handbill, signed by Owen Lovejoy on September 22, 1863, offers $125 reward for a stolen gelding with "L" branded on the shoulder. He stipulated that the entire amount would be paid for the conviction of the thief and return of the horse, or $100 for the thief alone, or $25 for the horse alone.[21]

[21] Lovejoy Papers, given to museum by Lovejoy's grandson.

Lovejoy's original appointment as colonel of infantry, among the Lovejoy Papers, is dated September, 1861, at the Illinois State Militia headquarters and signed by Richard Yates, governor. There is also a photograph of him in a rather ill-fitting Civil War uniform, but no record that he saw active service in the army.

One original but surprising document in the possession of his grandson, "Pat," is a license to practice law, granted to Owen Lovejoy in April, 1857. One of the signers of the certificate is the same John D. Caton, an Illinois Supreme Court judge, who acted as judge during the 1843 Lovejoy trial. Lovejoy must have read law at home and in the office of Princeton attorneys, as was the custom at that time. There is no record that he ever practiced, but he probably became interested during his trial and realized the advantage that legal training would give him in Washington as an abolitionist and a politician.

The American Phrenological Journal, published in New York, printed his picture in the August, 1862, number, and devoted several pages to a "reading" and synopsis of his life. It described him as not tall, but with a large chest and an unusually vigorous body that sustained his high degree of mental temperament, brain, and nervous system. The article stated: "If he had more pride and ambition, he would be less pure patriot perhaps, but there would be more dignity and authority in his manner and speech." He was "democratic in his tone of mind," and was "one of the people."[22]

The Dictionary of American Biography mentions Lovejoy's vow made on his brother's grave. It speaks of his fearless and tireless work for the cause of abolition, say-

[22] Lovejoy Papers.

ing that his unflinching boldness and the name he bore saved him from injury. His influence had grown during the decade following 1850, and he backed Lincoln as the only man in Illinois who could discipline the "rag-tag and bob-tail gang into party organization." Although he backed Lincoln's losing candidacy for the United States Senate at the expense of his own self-effacement, his continued support did much to put Lincoln in the White House.[23]

The New International Encyclopaedia pictures Lovejoy as a man of "powerful physique, intense feeling, and great magnetism," whose passionate energy carried the people with him. "He distinguished himself by the boldness of his attacks upon slavery from the pulpit and his open defiance of the law prohibiting antislavery meetings."[24]

THE DEATH OF LOVEJOY

Owen Lovejoy died on March 25, 1864, in Brooklyn, New York. He had been taken seriously ill there ten days before, when starting on a trip south in the hope of recovering his health. A sudden and severe illness in Washington the previous spring had compelled him to stay over awhile after the close of Congress, but he had flattered himself that the summer and fall at home had completely restored his robust constitution. When back in Congress for the fall session however, "there was something in his altered look which told of disease and death, creating in the minds of his friends the gravest apprehensions."

During the Christmas holidays he yielded to pressing invitations of friends to visit Portland, Maine, and de-

[23] *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1933), XI: 435.
[24] *New International Encyclopaedia* (New York, 1915, 2nd. ed.), XIV: 420.

liver an address. This proved to be his last effort at public speaking. Back in Washington, he spent several weeks confined to his room and bed, and when he finally was able to attend the Congressional sittings for a short time each day "his eye had lost its brightness" and there was a "ghastly pallor of his cheek." He suffered a relapse and consented to go south for a rest but got no farther than New York City. The trip was too hard. The strong man's journey was finished.[25]

Mrs. Lovejoy and their daughter Sarah made the long trip to New York to be with him during those last days, as did also his good friend, John Howard Bryant of Princeton.

After his death elaborate preparations were made for the funeral which was held on Friday morning, April 1, in the Hampshire Colony Congregational Church in Princeton where Lovejoy had preached for seventeen years. A vast crowd gathered from all the country around but there was only room inside the church for the family, his closest friends, and professional connections which included a Congressional committee from Washington.

It is said that the children, the three Lovejoy daughters and three sons, and the three Denham daughters, gathered about their father's coffin before it left the home and solemnly repeated a vow that they would "never falter or waver until the cause in which our father died shall triumph in universal liberty."

The funeral address was given by Dr. Beecher, an early anti-slavery worker, who had been present when Lovejoy died. He wept, while telling the story of a

[25] Lovejoy Papers. Memorial Address of John Washburn in Congress, March 28, 1864.

colored woman with a child in her arms, who pressed through the crowd at the Brooklyn service to kiss the brow of the dead abolitionist.

The rosewood casket was of exquisite workmanship with silver mountings and on its simple plate was engraved, "Owen Lovejoy died March 25, 1864, aged 53 years." A cross of white flowers covered it.

After the service, the coffin was opened in the yard of the church that the waiting crowd might see once more the face of their neighbor.[26] Handbills arranging for a magnificent funeral procession from the church to Oakland Cemetery had been circulated.[27] In Converse Hall an overflow crowd listened both afternoon and evening to addresses and eulogies honoring Princeton's greatest citizen.

Prominent Princetonians attempted to erect a suitable Lovejoy memorial monument in the town. Letters written to John Howard Bryant voiced enthusiastic response and even mentioned donations. One letter from Bryant's poet brother, William Cullen, suggested a massive pedestal topped with a sculptured figure of Lovejoy.[28] Another letter to Bryant, from President Lincoln, expressed his approval of such a memorial, and in it he called Lovejoy "my most generous friend," speaking of him in most affectionate terms.[29] The memorial was never built, however. Local opinion is that Mrs. Lovejoy disapproved of any show of publicity after her husband's death. From that time on the family,

[26] *Bureau County Republican* [Princeton, Ill.], Mar. 31, April 7, 1864 (in Matson Library, Princeton).

[27] Original copy of 11 x 5¾ black-bordered handbill of Lovejoy funeral procession (in Matson Public Library, Princeton).

[28] Lovejoy Papers.

[29] Photostatic copy of original Lincoln letter framed in museum of Bureau County Historical Society. The original letter was treasured for years by descendants of John Howard Bryant in Princeton, Ill., but has disappeared.

especially the widow, became more and more reticent, and retired from active participation in town life.

The monument and headstones on the Lovejoy lot in Oakland Cemetery, Princeton, are somewhat confusing until one becomes acquainted with the family names. On the tall monument near the first gate of the cemetery is engraved "Lovejoy" in large letters, and below the name:

OWEN LOVEJOY
Born Jan. 6, 1811
Died March 25, 1864
His Wife
EUNICE STORRS DENHAM
1809 - 1899

His grave to the north of the monument is marked with a simple stone having his name and date on one side and "Our Father" engraved on the other. Beside him lies Eunice Lovejoy, "Our Mother," and on the other side of her grave is Butler Denham's.

On this lot are also buried his mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Lovejoy; his sister, Sibyl, and her husband, C. E. Blanchard; the two unmarried stepdaughters, Mary and Lucy Denham; and six of his own seven children: two sons both named Owen Glendower (one having died as an infant), Ida Lovejoy, Charles Lovejoy, Mrs. Sarah French, and Mrs. Sophia Dickinson; also a granddaughter, Lucy Lovejoy. His other son, E. Parish Lovejoy and his wife, Emma Skinner, are buried on another lot of the same cemetery. The name of his father, the Reverend Daniel Lovejoy, is engraved on the monument although he is buried in Maine.

THE LOVEJOY HOMESTEAD

The Lovejoy Homestead, with its "underground station" marker, lies just beyond the east edge of Princeton on U. S. Route 6, and is unchanged since Civil War days. The original house, built by Butler Denham in 1838, was comparatively small and several additions were built on to it as the Lovejoy family increased.

It is a low, two-story, rambling house with no attempt at any architectural style, containing fifteen rooms, nine down and six upstairs, several halls, a number of closets, and the glassed-in porch always known as the "conservatory." Six of the downstairs rooms, including the conservatory, and three of the upstairs bedrooms, all in the west main portion of the house, are now furnished with "antiques" of the American black walnut period, making a well-arranged and interesting private museum.

Jay L. Spaulding, Princeton attorney, purchased the Homestead in 1932, and with it four eighties of the original four-section farm. He makes his home in what is known as the "new house" of the Lovejoy estate. A caretaker lives in the east wing of the Homestead.

The Homestead was in a most run-down condition when Mr. Spaulding acquired it, and through his great interest it has been restored without changing its originality. It now probably looks the same as it did in Lovejoy's day, except that the interesting crisscross fence is no more. Mr. Spaulding's daughter, Mrs. Sue S. Gross, has gathered an unusually good collection of black walnut furniture which she has refinished. The nine "museum" rooms of the Homestead are now completely furnished with the usual, authentic pieces characteristic of the Civil War period. In the two parlors, the

Owen Lovejoy Homestead, Princeton, Ill., Built in 1838

Several additions have changed the original house, but it remains much the same as it was in Civil War days. The fence in the picture is no longer standing.

dining room, study, four bedrooms and glassed-in porch, she has adhered closely to the American style of the middle nineteenth century, in decorations as well as in furniture. Old prints, dishes, books, ornaments, bedspreads, all help to make the Homestead a rare and very fine museum. Although it is not publicly open to sightseers, the owners are most courteous in permitting interested persons to visit it.

After the death in 1931 of E. Parish Lovejoy, gentleman-farmer son of the abolitionist who had remained on the home estate, the entire place was sold. Visiting members of the family allowed heirlooms to be sold to a secondhand dealer, some of which were eagerly bought later by antique collectors.

The only original Lovejoy possession now in the Homestead is the portrait of Owen Lovejoy which hangs above the fireplace in the museum parlor. It was painted three years after his death at the request of Mrs. Lovejoy. The portrait painter, F. B. Carpenter of Homer, New York, in a letter written to the family in 1867, spoke of the difficulty of painting the portrait from the small photograph, as he had never seen Lovejoy in person.[30] Below the portrait is a bronze plaque which Mr. Spaulding has had engraved with an excerpt from one of Lovejoy's most powerful Congressional speeches.

One of Lovejoy's dearest friends in Princeton was John Howard Bryant, who, like his brother, William Cullen Bryant, was a poet, although he never achieved

[30] Lovejoy Papers. The portrait is almost identical with a framed picture of Lovejoy hanging in the Matson Public Library, which is said to have been one of his campaign pictures. Two similar ones have been given to the Historical Museum—it was probably fashionable to have framed pictures of Lovejoy in Princeton homes. A few small photographs of him are among the Lovejoy Papers. All appear to have been taken within a few years' time.

the same greatness. After the death of Owen Lovejoy, he paid this tribute to his neighbor and friend:

> How throbbed his warm and generous heart!
> What mighty passions thrilled his frame!
> How beamed his eye with sudden start
> At sound of Freedom's holy name.

GENEALOGY

DENHAM SISTERS:

Mary B. Denham, 1840-1905. She made her home with her half brother, E. Parish Lovejoy, at the Homestead and built the "new house" which is now the residence of the present owner, J. L. Spaulding. Her will gave a total of nearly $104,000, most of it in the original farm property, to this brother and his heirs.

Lucy Storrs Denham, 1837-1907. Her share of the estate was left to the four Elliot brothers, sons of her sister, Elizabeth.

Elizabeth S. Denham, 1842-1925; married John Elliot; four sons: John Lovejoy, Richard S., Walter W., and Roger S., all born and reared on one of the home farms at Princeton.

LOVEJOY CHILDREN:

1. Sarah Moody, 1844-1881; married William R. French, Chicago; no children.
2. Owen Glendower, 1845-1846 (seven months old).
3. Owen Glendower, 1846-1900; Princeton lawyer; married Lucy Thompson; one child, Lucy, 1880-1905.
4. Ida Taylor, 1848-1909; postmistress in Princeton.
5. Sophia Mappa, 1849-1933, the last of her generation; married Charles Dickinson, Chicago; three children. This family never lived in Princeton.
6. Elijah Parish, 1850-1931; married Emma Skinner

in 1882; spent entire life as a "gentlemen-farmer" at the Lovejoy Homestead. Their four children: a. Parish Storrs, 1884-1942; Ann Arbor, Michigan; married Ruth Harrison; four children; b. Mary Eunice, 1885-1931; married William M. Snow; Wisconsin; no children; c. Owen Lloyd, 1893– ; Captain of 57th F. A. in World War I; address not known by family; d. Elijah Parish (Pat), 1900– ; married Jane Howell; Detroit; four children.

7. Charles Perkins, 1852-1914; veterinarian in Princeton; a "jovial, friendly bachelor."

Only three of the seven sons and daughters of Owen Lovejoy had children. There were eight grandchildren and there are now a number of great-grandchildren. The four Elliot grandchildren on the Denham side of the family were always considered as close as were the lineal descendants.

HISTORICAL NOTES

AN OLD MYSTERY SOLVED

The Sculptor of the Menard Monument Identified

In the State House grounds at Springfield stands an interesting statue of Pierre Menard, the first lieutenant governor of Illinois. Menard is standing, while beside him, on the ground, sits an Indian in an attitude of trust and friendliness. The statue conveys an impression of the simple benignity that was one of Menard's outstanding characteristics, and is, at the same time, a creditable artistic achievement.

Nowhere on the statue can the name of the sculptor be found. In response to numerous inquiries the Illinois State Historical Library has made repeated investigations, but always without result. The newspapers of the time contained long accounts of the dedication, which took place on January 10, 1888, but no mention was made of the artist. Attempts were made to find clues in the papers of Charles Chouteau of St. Louis, the donor, and of Elihu B. Washburne of Galena, chairman of the committee which chose the design, but without success. The records of the foundry which cast the bronze also yielded nothing.

A few weeks ago the mystery was solved when Ernest E. East, custodian of the newspaper room at the Illinois State Historical Library, found the following paragraph in the *Illinois State Journal* for May 29, 1886.

THE MENARD MONUMENT

The monument erected to the memory of Pierre Menard and presented to the State of Illinois by Hon. Charles Choteau [*sic*] of St. Louis, arrived yesterday and was placed in position on the pedestal erected for it in the State House grounds. The monument was made by the Hollowell Granite Company of Chicopee, Mass., is of bronze and is eight feet in height. The artist was J. H. Mahoney. The monument shows an Indian chieftain in a sitting posture, his left hand holding a calumet or pipe of peace, while in his right is a dead fox. In front of him stands Pierre Menard with his right arm extended, the hand enclosing a scroll. The work of placing the

monument in position will be completed today and it will then be boxed and covered until the unveiling takes place, which will be the early part of next month, with appropriate ceremonies.

John H. Mahoney was an Indiana sculptor of talent. Born, according to most accounts, in Usk, Monmouthshire County, Wales, on June 24, 1855, he came to this country with his parents in 1858, living first at North Vernon, Indiana, and, after 1868, at Indianapolis. As a youth he was apprenticed as a stonecutter, and in that occupation discovered his talent for sculpture. By 1869 he had saved enough money so that he was able to spend eighteen months in study abroad. After returning to this country he was commissioned to do several statues, with the result that he was an artist of considerable reputation when he was chosen to execute the Menard work. Later works include statues and reliefs on the Pilgrim's Monument at Plymouth, Massachusetts, and statues of George Rogers Clark, William Henry Harrison, and James Whitcomb in Monument Circle, Indianapolis. Mahoney died at Indianapolis on September 14, 1919.

When the Menard statue was placed on the State House grounds in May, 1886, it was planned to hold dedicatory services within a few weeks. However, the illness and subsequent death of Elihu B. Washburne, who had been chosen to make the address of dedication, brought about a long postponement. When the statue was finally dedicated in conjunction with the annual meeting of the Illinois State Bar Association, Henry Baker, of Alton, was the speaker of the occasion.

PAUL M. ANGLE

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

CONGREGATIONAL AND CHRISTIAN CHURCH CENTENNIAL

The Conference of Congregational and Christian Churches of Illinois is preparing to celebrate at Galesburg and Farmington during its annual conference in June, 1944, the organization of the General Congregational Association of Illinois, which was formed at Farmington on June 21, 1844. At that time there were sixty-four churches, forty ministers and 2,432 members in Illinois. Already, three local associations were functioning: the Illinois, organized in 1834, the Fox River in 1835, and the Central in 1844.

The Illinois Association was the first organized in the Middle West and the second west of New England. In the early autumn of 1834, the Jacksonville church asked the churches in Illinois to send delegates to a convention to be held in Quincy on November 24-29 to organize an association. The Jacksonville, Quincy, Griggsville, Mendon, and Atlas (Summer Hill) churches were represented in the convention. The first meeting of the Congregational Association of Illinois was held in Jacksonville on October 22, 1835, with the Jacksonville, Atlas, Griggsville, Fairfield, and Quincy churches and the Congregational Union of Fox River represented.

Illinois churches which were meeting prior to the organization of the General Congregational Association are listed below, with date of organization: Quincy, 1830; Princeton, 1831; Jacksonville, Mendon, Naperville, 1833; Summer Hill (Atlas), Plainfield, Griggsville, Peoria [First], Yorkville, 1834; Batavia, 1835; Chandlerville, Elgin, Geneseo, Lyndon, Payson, Plymouth, Waverly, 1836; Galesburg [Central], Peru, Pittsfield, St. Charles, Byron, 1837; Aurora [First], Bunker Hill, Dover, Lockport, Ivanhoe, Woodburn, 1838; Godfrey, Ottawa, 1839; LaMoille, 1840; Dundee, Providence, 1841; Canton, Crystal Lake, Lisle, 1842; Waukegan, Lee Center, Lyonsville, 1843; Moline [First], 1844.

The conference centennial committee is made up as follows: The Reverend J. W. F. Davies, Waukegan, chairman; Orman L. Shott, Chicago, secretary; Dr. Carter Davidson, Galesburg; Dr. Fred Eastman, Chicago; The Reverends Matthew Spinka, Chicago; R. E. Akin, Thawville; Walter Schlaretzki, Decatur; H. E. Loring, Galesburg; Allen Jenkins, Galesburg; Niel E. Hansen, Chicago; Glen Lindley, Princeton; Mrs. E. K. Dimmitt, Farmington; Mrs. Ozora Davis, Chicago; Mrs. W. M. Fuller, Chicago; Miss Harriet Nicol, Chicago; John H. Finley, Chicago; A. W. Hausser, Eldorado; H. R. Muelder, Galesburg; Frank J. Heinl, Jacksonville.

FRANK J. HEINL

JACKSONVILLE, ILL.

THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

ORIGIN OF A PHRASE

Roosevelt and Churchill, perhaps in anticipation of Axis peace feelers, agreed that peace can come only through unconditional surrender of the three major Axis partners.—Associated Press Dispatch, Jan. 27, 1943.

Northwest African air forces . . . hammered into unconditional surrender three Italian islands in three days.—Associated Press Dispatch, June 14, 1943.

Our terms to Italy are still the same as our terms to Germany and Japan—"unconditional surrender."—Franklin D. Roosevelt, July 28, 1943.

Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower announced today the unconditional surrender of the Italian armed forces.—Associated Press Dispatch, Sept. 8, 1943.

Before daylight General Smith brought to me the following letter from General Buckner:

HEADQUARTERS, FORT DONELSON,
February 16, 1862.

SIR:—In consideration of all the circumstances governing the present situation of affairs at this station, I propose to the Commanding Officer of the Federal forces the appointment of Commissioners to agree upon terms of capitulation of the forces and fort under my command, and in that view suggest an armistice until 12 o'clock to-day.

I am, sir, very respectfully,

Your ob't se'v't,
S. B. BUCKNER,
Brig. Gen. C.S.A.

To Brigadier-General U. S. Grant,
Com'ding U.S. Forces,
Near Fort Donelson.

To this I responded as follows:

HEADQUARTERS ARMY IN THE FIELD,
Camp near Donelson,
February 16, 1862.

General S. B. Buckner,
Confederate Army.

SIR:—Yours of this date, proposing armistice and appointment of Commissioners to settle terms of capitulation, is just received. No terms except an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works.

I am, sir, very respectfully,

Your ob't se'v',
U. S. GRANT,
Brig. Gen.

To this I received the following reply:

HEADQUARTERS, DOVER, TENNESSEE,
February 16, 1862.

To Brig. Gen'l U. S. Grant,
U.S. Army.

SIR:—The distribution of the forces under my command, incident to an unexpected change of commanders, and the overwhelming force under your command, compel me, notwithstanding the brilliant success of the Confederate arms yesterday, to accept the ungenerous and unchivalrous terms which you propose.

I am, sir,

Your very ob't se'v't,
S. B. BUCKNER,
Brig. Gen. C.S.A.

Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant (1885), I: 310-12.

FROM ANOTHER WAR

In reference to the discipline maintained in the camp [at Cairo, 1861], I must admit that proper precautions are used to prevent spies entering the lines. The sentries are posted closely and permit no one to go in without a pass in the day and a countersign at night. A conversation with General Prentiss in the front of the hotel was interrupted this evening by an Irishman, who ran past us towards the camp, hotly pursued by two policemen. The sentry on duty at the point of the lines close to us brought him up by the point of the bayonet. "Who goes tere?" "A friend, shure your honor; I'm a friend." "Advance three paces and give the countersign." "I don't know it, I tell you. Let me in, let me in." But the German was

resolute, and the policemen now coming up in hot pursuit, seized the culprit, who resisted violently, till General Prentiss rose from his chair and ordered the guard, who had turned out, to make a prisoner of the soldier and hand him over to the civil power, for which the man seemed to be most deeply grateful. As the policemen were walking him off, he exclaimed, "Be quiet wid ye, till I spake a word to the Giniral," and then bowing and chuckling with drunken gravity, he said, "an' indeed, Giniral, I'm much obleeged to ye altogither for this kindness. Long life to ye. We've got the better of that dirty German. Hoora' for Giniral Prentiss." He preferred a chance of more whiskey in the police office and a light punishment to the work in camp and a heavy drill in the morning. An officer who was challenged by a sentry the other evening, asked him, "Do you know the countersign yourself?" "No, sir, it's not nine o'clock, and they have not given it out yet." Another sentry stopped a man because he did not know the countersign. The fellow said, "I dare say you don't know it yourself." "That's a lie," he exclaimed; "it's Plattsburgh." "Plattsburgh it is, sure enough," said the other, and walked on without further parley.

WM. H. RUSSELL, *My Diary North and South* (1863), 345.

EARLY NAVIGATION ON THE ILLINOIS

As early as 1844, Capt. Samuel Rider, one of the most mechanical and inventive boatmen ever on the Illinois River, built at Griggsville landing a sort of nondescript boat he called Olitippa, which was propelled by horses upon an endless chain. The boat had no cabin or cargo box and the hold was too shallow to stow freight in.

She was designed expressly to carry freight in low water which, of course, had to be stowed on the main deck, as she had no other, and the cook, the officers, and the men occupied the same location. The clerk's office was carried in the captain's hat, and as there was but few ladies traveling on the Illinois at that early day, a chambermaid was dispensed with. Later on when accidents on the rivers were more frequent from fires, and bursting of boilers, the Olitippa would doubtless have become very popular, as but little apprehension could have been felt from either cause on her.

She proved to be what she was designed for, a light draught boat

(only ten inches) for the Illinois River. But when she drifted out of her home element into the strong currents of the Mississippi, she was at sea without a rudder, or without power to avoid snags or lee-shores. Consequently after making one trip to St. Louis, she retired from [to?] the placid waters of the Illinois, and emigrated with the ducks and geese, to a more genial climate.

After the departure of the Olitippa the experience and the genius of Captain Rider led him to design and construct two steamboats at the same place, (Griggsville Landing), that excelled all steamboats in point of capacity on shoal water that had been built up to that date, 1847. While not a boat builder, but a sea-going sailor (all the way from Cape Cod), the model of the hull was unexceptionable, the power, although light, was well applied and the cabin finish and accommodations were about equal to any boats of the time, wherever built. The first one was called Timolian and the second was called Prairie State.

Capt. Rider was a careful, obliging commander and popular with all who knew him. No one knew better how to relieve a boat in difficulty than he did.

He crossed the unknown river in 1881, leaving four daughters and one son and many friends but no enemies. This can be said of but few men who so often meet the adverse side of society, as do the boatmen on Western waters.

E. W. GOULD, *Fifty Years on the Mississippi* (1889), 524-25.

PROPHECY GONE WRONG

Fort Chartres State Park. On original foundations the State has erected custodian's quarters and a museum containing relics directly associated with the former stronghold. The combined guard house and chapel and the main gateway have been reconstructed and the original powder magazine still stands as it did in the 1700's.—State Parks and Memorials (1943).

Leaving St. Genevieve, you ascend two miles, in the direction of the river, to the Little Rocks, where there is a good ferry. Six miles further, in a most charming country, being a continued prairie of the richest soil, you find Prairie le Roche, an old French settle-

ment of about forty families, who are all Roman Catholics, and support a confessor and chapel of their own.

This village is built upon a very contracted scale, the streets being barely twenty feet wide. This apparent economy, however, was not without a sufficient reason at the time these settlements were made, it being done for the purpose of consolidating the village as much as possible, that it might serve instead of fortifications, and that the inhabitants might always be near enough to assist each other in case of surprise by the savages. The people of this settlement all live by tillage, and in their outward appearance seem but a few degrees superior to their savage neighbours; yet, when accosted, they immediately discover their national trait of politeness.

About four miles from Prairie le Roche is situated the celebrated post of Fort Chartres, which is said to have cost the Spanish government a hundred thousand crowns. It seems, that no pains or expense has been spared to render this fortress impregnable; and, as far as I can judge, without any other object than that of making it a general depository of military stores, as the situation is not superior to many others along the banks of the river. The whole of these extensive works were laid in stone and mortar. At the time of erecting them they were upwards of a quarter of a mile from the river, but, at the present moment, half of them have fallen into the Mississippi, and, in a very few years, the site of old Fort Chartres will be sought for in vain!

CHRISTIAN SCHULTZ, *Travels on an Inland Voyage* (1810), 36-37.

NEWS AND COMMENT

The Illinois State Historical Society will meet at Dixon on Friday and Saturday, October 15 and 16. The principal speaker of the occasion will be Graham Hutton, Director of the British Information Services in Chicago. Mr. Hutton, formerly managing editor of the London *Economist* and lecturer at the London School of Economics, will speak on the subject, "An Englishman Looks at the Middle West." On Saturday, October 16, there will be a short tour to nearby Lowell Park, a beautiful stand of virgin forest, and to Hazelwood, the estate of Mrs. Charles R. Walgreen. (The history of Hazelwood may be found in an article of that title, by Frank E. Stevens, in the *Journal* for September, 1939.) Local transportation will be provided for members without cars.

Dixon is on the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad and several bus lines. The Office of Defense Transportation has asked that members attending this meeting plan their trip so as to avoid crowded schedules.

The Illinois State Historical Library, already known all over the country for its Lincoln collection, may some day be equally famous as a repository of Civil War material. That is the prospect indicated by an important gift recently announced by the Library's trustees—the Civil War collection of Alfred W. Stern.

The result of years of collecting activity, the Stern collection consists of approximately 2,000 books and pamphlets. When received by the Library, it will be designated as the Alfred W. Stern Civil War Collection. The donor, a Chicago collector, has signified his intention of adding to the collection from time to time so that it will eventually stand unrivalled.

Friends and associates of the late Charles S. Deneen have made possible the acquisition, by the Illinois State Historical Library, of

a fine collection of historical material relating to the life of the former governor and United States senator. Assembled by Mrs. Harris H. Horner of Chicago, the collection consists of notes, memoranda, photostats, and clippings of great value to anyone writing of Deneen or of Illinois politics in the first third of the twentieth century. Those who participated in the gift are as follows: Ross C. Adams, East St. Louis; George E. Baker, Suring, Wis.; Harold G. Baker, East St. Louis; Arthur H. Clark, Harrisburg; Arthur M. Cox, Chicago; James P. Dillie, Chicago; Carlos K. Eckhart, Chicago; Percy B. Eckhart, Chicago; Hugo M. Friend, Chicago; Denison B. Hull, Chicago; Z. T. S. Leich, Harrisburg; Ralph F. Lesemann, East St. Louis; Roy Massena, Chicago; David F. Matchett, Chicago; Harker Miley, Harrisburg; J. M. Mitchell, Mt. Carmel; William B. Moulton, Chicago; Walter M. Provine, Taylorville; R. R. Randolph, Harrisburg; D. H. Reed, Benton; Leonard C. Reed, Chicago; E. H. Smiley, O'Fallon; R. R. Thomas, East St. Louis; Charles R. Thompson, Harrisburg; Daniel P. Trude, Chicago; Roy O. West, Chicago; Fred C. Wham, Centralia; and Wham & Wham, Centralia.

The Illinois State Historical Library also possesses some two hundred scrapbooks relating to the political activities of Charles S. Deneen. These were donated by the Deneen family after Senator Deneen's death.

Miss Ida L. Bale, of Petersburg, Illinois, a descendant of early settlers of New Salem, has recently donated a characteristic Lincoln letter to the Illinois State Historical Library. The letter reads as follows:

SPRINGFIELD, Feb. 22, 1850

Mr. Abraham Bale:
DEAR SIR:

I understand Mr. Hickox will go, or send to Petersburg tomorrow, for the purpose of meeting you to settle the difficulty about the wheat. I sincerely hope you will settle it. I think you *can* if you *will*, for I have always found Mr. Hickox a fair man in his dealings. If you settle, I will charge nothing for what I have done, and thank you to boot. By settling, you will, most likely get your money sooner; and with much less trouble & expense.

Yours truly
A. LINCOLN.

Joseph L. Shaw of Geneseo, Ill., has presented to the Illinois State Historical Library more than one hundred issues of three early newspapers of Tazewell County. Among them are seven issues of the *Pekin Weekly Plain Dealer* of 1856, heretofore unavailable in any library collection. There are seven issues of the *Tazewell Register*, Pekin, of which only one other copy was previously known. The remainder are of the *Tazewell County Whig*, Tremont, 1844-1847, of which no copy was owned by the Historical Library.

A member of the Society has presented to the Illinois State Historical Library four different photographs of the first brick and stone courthouse which was erected by Peoria County in 1833-1836 and demolished in 1876. Abraham Lincoln appeared in this courthouse both as speaker at a political meeting and as attorney at law.

Pictures of courthouses, past or present, in twenty-five other counties, are owned by the Library. Included are most of those in counties of the old Eighth Circuit in which Lincoln regularly attended sessions of the court. Paul M. Angle, librarian, wishes to enlarge this collection of Illinois courthouse pictures, both past and present, and invites members in every county not represented to contribute photographs of such county buildings as may be available. Newspapers, magazines and other publications frequently call on the library for the loan of pictures to be reproduced with historical articles, and it is desired to improve the Library's service in this field.

One or more pictures of courthouses in the following counties are owned by the library: Adams, Alexander, Calhoun, Cass, Christian, Cook, DeWitt, Fayette, Gallatin, Greene, Macon, Macoupin, Madison, Mason, McLean, Menard, Montgomery, Morgan, Peoria, Pike, Rock Island, Sangamon, Schuyler, Scott, Shelby, and Vermilion.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has memorialized the twenty years of devoted service which Joseph Schafer gave it, as Superintendent, by the publication of a brochure entitled *Joseph Schafer, Student of Agriculture*.[1] Included are an appraisal of Schafer's

[1] The Society, Madison, Wis. Paper, $1.00; cloth, $1.50.

historical contributions, by Louise P. Kellogg; a character sketch by Clarence B. Lester; and a bibliography of Schafer's writings by Everett E. Edwards and Thomas J. Mayock.

In his foreword Dr. Edward P. Alexander, Schafer's successor, writes of the Society's superintendents: "Draper left the Society unsurpassed collections of historical materials; Thwaites built a smoothly running instrument for accomplishing historical research; and Quaife laid the groundwork for an expanded publication program. Joseph Schafer, who became superintendent in 1920, kept the Society's activities in all these fields at an even pace, but his chief contribution in more than twenty years of patient work lay in the conduct of historical research." This memorial brochure is proof of the soundness of that appraisal.

Indian Chief is the story of Keokuk told—and told well—by Myna Lockwood.[2] Keokuk, it will be remembered, was, like Black Hawk, a chief of the Sauk who had their principal village near the mouth of the Rock River. Keokuk, however, discerned early in life that the tide of American settlement was too strong ever to be stemmed by the Indians; peaceful relations, therefore, were the tribe's only chance for salvation. Black Hawk, on the other hand, was always under British influence and frequently at war with the Americans. The Black Hawk War was, for him, the final disaster, leading to the destruction of most of the tribesmen who followed his lead and to the definite ascendancy of Keokuk in tribal affairs.

Mrs. Lockwood tells Keokuk's story, fictionized of course, from boyhood to death. The author has a sympathetic understanding of Indian life, and incorporates much information about manners and customs in her narrative. Although written for boys and girls, the book is mature enough to appeal to many adults.

The Shining Trail, by Iola Fuller,[3] like *Indian Chief*, is concerned with the Sauk Indians during the last years of their life in Illinois. To Miss Fuller, however, Black Hawk is the hero, and Keokuk

[2] Oxford University Press. $2.00.
[3] Duell, Sloan and Pearce. $3.00.

only a shifty traitor to his own tribe. The material is identical, but different points of view have produced radically different books.

The Shining Trail is a novel, and a good one. Chaske, the central character, is the son of Sioux parents, born after his mother was captured by the Sauk. As a boy, Black Hawk adopts him, but he never merges completely with the foster tribe, and in the end, after the Sauk are defeated and decimated at the Battle of Bad Axe, he goes back to his own people. Chaske's story is told with tenderness and understanding—and, one suspects, with considerable idealization.

Like Mrs. Lockwood, Miss Fuller seems to have full knowledge of Indian customs, and describes them convincingly in the course of the narrative. Her exposition of Indian ways of thought, though skillful and plausible, is less likely to carry conviction. After all, the weight of the evidence indicates that the Sauk, like most Indians, were savages, and not inherently humane inhabitants of a natural paradise on the Rousseau pattern, as an unwary reader might well assume. But that is probably an ungracious comment about a book from which most readers will derive both pleasure and instruction.

Three years ago Charles Scribner's Sons published the *Dictionary of American History*, a book of reference which immediately proved its worth to libraries and historical scholars. Now comes a companion work, the *Atlas of American History*,[4] intended, the editor states, to "present our geographical history as completely and as readily as the *Dictionary of American History* presents our written history."

The *Atlas* contains 147 plates, each drawn in black and white under the supervision of one or more recognized authorities. The first map illustrates the topography of the United States, the second the forests of the region before white settlement, the last the nation as it appeared in 1912, when the last two states, Arizona and New Mexico, were admitted. Between that date and 1492, every major event in our history is illustrated geographically.

The *Atlas* includes maps of the Illinois Country, 1700-1763, Indiana and Illinois territories, 1800-1818, and many others in

[4] Charles Scribner's Sons. $10.00.

which Illinois figures prominently. Illinois scholars who have supervised the drawing of maps include Raymond P. Stearns and James G. Randall of the University of Illinois, Jean Delanglez of the Institute of Jesuit History, and Jay Monaghan and Paul M. Angle of the Illinois State Historical Library.

The Chicago Public Library, the legend goes, came into existence as the result of a donation of books from England after the great fire of 1871. English authors and bookmen, touched by the plight of the city, reached into their pockets and library shelves to replace the books destroyed by the conflagration. In due time the books came. Then the citizens discovered they had no place to put them—the public library that the English benefactors had assumed existed in every city had never come into being in Chicago. For the embarrassed metropolis there was only one way out—to organize the institution which they had simply overlooked in the rush of progress. So the Chicago Public Library was founded.

It's a good story, but like so many good stories, it is an enormous proliferation of one small fact. There was an English donation, and it was gratefully received, but it had nothing to do with the founding of the Chicago Public Library.

In *The Chicago Public Library: Origins and Background*,[5] Gwladys Spencer shows that the institution was the natural outgrowth of the association libraries that were formed early in the city's history. The most important of these was the Young Men's Association, founded in 1841. This organization assembled a sizable collection of books and tried its best to supply the city with reading matter, but that was a job too big for any group of private individuals. By 1871, that fact was generally recognized. Civic leaders saw that a tax-supported public library was the only solution, and, with the effective help of the *Chicago Tribune*, put on a campaign for one. Just as the campaign was coming to a culmination, the great fire prostrated the city.

At that time, however, the General Assembly of Illinois had under consideration a bill authorizing towns and cities to levy a tax for the support of public libraries. The bill was the creation of

[5] University of Chicago Press.

Erastus Swift Willcox, who, in Peoria, had encountered the same financial difficulties that had beset those interested in Chicago's association libraries. The Chicagoans joined forces with Willcox, the bill passed, and the Chicago Public Library was quickly organized under its provisions.

Miss Spencer's book deals, as its title indicates, with origins and backgrounds. Therefore the development of libraries in Illinois comes within her scope. She shows that by 1871 there were not many more than a hundred libraries in the state, and all except the Illinois State Library and the libraries of state institutions were privately supported. All, moreover, were in financial difficulties. The public library law, therefore, not only provided a solid foundation for the Chicago Public Library; it was also responsible for most of the libraries in Illinois today.

At first glance, a book entitled *Lincoln and California*[6] would seem to have little interest for Illinoisans. But in this instance, as in so many others, the first impression is deceptive. Dr. Milton H. Shutes, the author, is a former resident of Illinois, and men from the Prairie State play prominent parts in his narrative. Edward D. Baker, senator from California, was so close to Lincoln that the latter named one of his sons for him; Noah Brooks, correspondent of the *Sacramento Union*—formerly from Dixon, Illinois—would have been his private secretary had the President lived a few weeks longer; Dr. Anson G. Henry, who, though a resident of Oregon, was not without influence in California politics, was one of Lincoln's few intimates. These and many others from Lincoln's home state constituted personal ties between the President and the Golden Shore.

There were other ties. Several of the best known Northern generals—notably Hooker, Halleck, Fremont, and Sherman—had California backgrounds. The Union Pacific Railroad, lifeline to California, was begun in Lincoln's administration, and with his blessing. The New Almaden mercury mine gave rise to a scandal which involved several of his close friends. These matters, as well as the personal relationships between Lincoln and Californians, make Dr. Shutes's book an interesting addition to the steadily growing shelf of Lincoln monographs.

[6] Stanford University Press. $3.00.

Much that was seemingly mysterious in Lincoln—and much, for that matter, that is seemingly mysterious in many men—can be explained by the weather and physical reactions to it. That is the thesis of Dr. William F. Petersen in a stimulating and provocative book, *Lincoln-Douglas: The Weather as Destiny*.[7]

Dr. Petersen divides people into two physical categories—the linear type and the pyknic type. Lincoln—long, thin, poorly buffered by fat and vitamins—was the perfect example of the former; Douglas—broad, heavy, well supplied with physical reserves—exemplified the latter. In temperament the two types are as different as in physique. The linear type tends to moodiness and introspection; the pyknic is the extravert who concentrates on the "practical" and cares little about philosophical and moral considerations. In crises, moreover, the two types have distinctive reactions. Thus, during the senatorial campaign of 1858, Lincoln gained steadily in self-confidence, and even in physical health; while Douglas, his opposite, clearly went downhill. Hot weather, says Dr. Petersen, dilated Lincoln's arteries and enabled an adequate supply of blood to travel the long distance to his brain; while in Douglas the biochemical changes produced by heat and the hardships of travel had an adverse effect.

This very brief summary does not begin to do justice to Dr. Petersen's thesis, nor is space available here to do more than mention the episodes and relationships in Lincoln's life which he explains in detail—his nervous breakdown after the death of Ann Rutledge, his break with Mary Todd (herself an excellent example of the pyknic type) and his subsequent marriage, his relations with McClellan and with his cabinet. One can only say that Dr. Petersen's evidence, which consists of meteorological records, and contemporary letters and diaries as well as reminiscences, is impressive; and that if coincidence alone explains the results for which he adduces environmental causes, coincidence plays a much larger part in human affairs than most people will admit.

While Lincoln, Douglas, and Mary Todd figure prominently in *Lincoln-Douglas: The Weather as Destiny*, Dr. Petersen is really concerned with them only as examples by which he can explain his conclusions to a much larger body of readers than scientific publica-

[7] Charles C. Thomas, Springfield, Ill. $3.00.

tions, which he has already utilized, would attract. Whether he will succeed in his purpose remains to be seen, but if he fails it will not be his fault. His style is always clear and often distinguished, and he has attained simplicity of statement without the apparent condescension that so often mars scientific writing for the layman. Many illustrations and charts supplement the text effectively.

In compiling *Selected Writings and Speeches of Abraham Lincoln*,[8] T. Harry Williams, author of *Lincoln and the Radicals*, limited himself to those writings which illustrate Lincoln's political and social philosophy and his attitude toward the issues of his time. "My attempt has been to present Lincoln the philosopher of democracy," Mr. Williams states in his preface. "I have not tried to present the complete Lincoln."

Mr. Williams' anthology, therefore, is made up mainly of speeches and state papers, and extracts from them. By excluding most of Lincoln's letters, the compiler denied himself and his readers much that is pungent and amusing, for Lincoln was one of the best letter writers who ever lived, but what he lost in this respect he gained in unity of effect and timeliness. Within its limits, the selection is admirable.

Mr. Williams has contributed a thoughtful introduction on Lincoln's political and economic philosophy, a chronological outline of Lincoln's life, and a selected bibliography.

Pursuit of Freedom: *A History of Civil Liberty in Illinois, 1787-1942*[9] is an account of contraventions— or alleged contraventions—of the Bill of Rights in Illinois. Such chapter headings as "Academic Freedom," "Rights of Aliens," "Anti-Semitism," and "Unconstitutional Police Methods" indicate the scope of the work. The book is undocumented but frequent citations of authority in the text itself largely make up for this deficiency. Much more important is the lack of an index—an inexcusable omission in a book of this kind. Authorship was the joint responsibility of a committee of the Chi-

[8] Packard and Company, Chicago. 95c.
[9] Chicago Civil Liberties Committee, 166 W. Jackson Blvd. $2.00.

cago Civil Liberties Committee, which had at its disposal material gathered by an unnamed "public agency"—doubtless the Federal Writers' Project.

The John Tipton Papers, 1809-1839,[10] consists of the large collection of manuscripts—journals, memoranda, receipts, and letters—which John Tipton amassed in an active lifetime. Tipton, born in Tennessee in 1786, came to Indiana Territory with his family in 1807. He served with the Indiana militia in the War of 1812, was sheriff of Harrison County, helped to locate the capital of Indiana, acted as an Indian agent for several years, and was twice elected to the United States Senate. Tipton was by no means a great man, but the variety of his activities, and the period of rapid change in which he lived, give his papers unusual historical importance.

Several documents are of especial interest to students of Illinois history. Tipton, with Samuel McClintoc of Illinois, ran the boundary line between Indiana and Illinois in 1821; his journal, which occupies thirty-five printed pages, is to be found in Volume I. Seventeen years later he effected the removal of the Potawatomi from Indiana, and while he did not accompany the tribe beyond his own state, reports of the migration through Illinois were made to him and appear in Volume III. There are a number of letters from Pierre Menard and Alexander Wolcott, Jr., Indian agent at Chicago, and many communications which bear indirectly upon conditions in Illinois.

The Tipton Papers are in the collection of the Indiana State Library. This publication was edited very ably by Nellie Armstrong Robertson and Dorothy Riker of the Indiana Historical Bureau. It carries an introduction by Paul W. Gates.

A group of public-spirited men and women of Aurora who are determined to save the city's historical museum have been actively engaged in a drive to secure an income of $3,600 a year to enable the museum to keep its doors open to the public every day. Seven years ago, Mary Tanner Hopkins and Martha Tanner Thornton,

[10] Indiana Historical Bureau, Indianapolis. 3 vols., $11.00.

twin daughters of one of Aurora's pioneers, William A. Tanner, gave their childhood home to the Aurora Historical Society, to be held in trust for the city and to be used for its historical museum. The federal government has aided the Society in maintaining the museum, but because of the war that help has now been withdrawn. The purpose of the present campaign is to secure enough sustaining members (who will pay annual fees of $5.00 or multiples of $5.00) to assure the annual income needed to maintain the property, employ a curator and janitor, and keep the museum open daily. To add to this fund, the regular annual dues of members of the Aurora Historical Society were increased from $1.00 to $2.00 on June 1.

A permanent exhibit of ancient vehicles and different types of early farm machinery is being planned by the Bureau County Historical Society. The display will be housed in the Red Cross building of the Bureau County fairgrounds at Princeton. People of the county are asked to bring in old buggies, sleighs, wagons, etc., as well as plows, reapers, cultivators, corn planters, and mowers which would be of interest in such an exhibit.

All officers of the Society were re-elected at the annual meeting on June 7. They are: Mrs. H. P. Grove, president; Miss Grace Bryant, vice-president; Miss Ethel Sharp, secretary; F. S. Fowler, treasurer; and T. A. Fenoglio, custodian. Mr. Fowler recently donated $100 to the Society to be used for the purchase of a display case for the Ed Norton collection of Indian relics. The Society's spring membership drive brought in the sum of $125.

Mrs. William H. Matlack began her fourth term as president of the Cahokia Historical Society of St. Clair County when the installation of officers was held on June 28 in East St. Louis. Other officers include: C. F. Gergen, first vice-president; Mrs. Nell Walsh Barnes, second vice-president; Miss Margaret Walsh, secretary; Mrs. Louis Traband, treasurer; Mrs. Anita Hennessey, auditor. The following new trustees were installed: John Trendley, John E. Miller, Father Joseph Mueller, Congressman Calvin D. Johnson, Melvin Price, Leo J. Dougherty, E. V. Menges, and E. P. Griffin.

Among the recent activities of the Society was its juvenile employment service, co-operating with the juvenile division of the East St. Louis Police Department during the summer months. Another project, now being carried on, is the collection of data on local aspects of World War II. Persons who have pictures and other mementoes of this war which they wish to have preserved should communicate with Miss Emma Asher, historian.

At the May meeting of the South Shore Historical Society (Chicago), the following officers were elected: John E. Pedderson, president, Mrs. Charles Gerds, vice-president; Mrs. Viola H. Murphy, recording secretary; Helen S. Babcock, corresponding secretary; Harry Kriewitz, treasurer; David B. Bird, genealogist. The program at this meeting included a paper on the South Shore of sixty years ago prepared by O. N. Hutchinson and read by George H. Stanton; Joseph V. Weisenberg told of his father's experiences in business in Parkside in the Eighties; Chuck Varner and John Heilman showed a series of slides of old South Shore; Lieutenant Charles L. Richards, home on leave from the Panama Canal Zone, led the group in the pledge to the flag and the singing of the *Star Spangled Banner;* and music was furnished by Miss Dorothy Campbell and Mrs. Frances Johnson.

A valuable contribution to the history of Chicago's west side was made recently when Frank R. Campbell donated a collection of 850 photographs to the West Side Historical Society (Chicago). The collection, given as a memorial to Mr. Campbell's wife, will be known as the Lillian M. Campbell Memorial Collection.

The spring meeting of the Historical Society of Woodlawn (Chicago) was held on the evening of May 14. Following a review of William Saroyan's *Human Comedy* by Dr. Harold L. Bowman, a social hour was conducted by Mrs. Leo T. Heid, assisted by Mrs. Claud I. Palmer and Mrs. Paul I. Pierson.

Deer Park became Illinois' twenty-third state park when it was presented to the State of Illinois on July 11. Formerly the home of F. W. Matthiessen, the 550 acre tract located in La Salle County was donated by Matthiessen's heirs, Lieutenant Richard Blow, Frederick M. Blow, and Mrs. Wayne Chatfield-Taylor. The gift was formally accepted for the State by Governor Dwight H. Green.

The first of several tours to places of historical interest in Edwards County was sponsored by the Edwards County Historical Society on May 16. Edgar L. Dukes conducted the tour and gave information on the places visited. At the June meeting, Mrs. W. A. Wheeler read a paper on "The Methodist Circuit Rider," prepared from a circuit rider's original diary in the possession of the Society. On the same program, Edgar L. Dukes read a sketch of the Courtenay family sent by William H. Courtenay of Louisville, Kentucky. At the July meeting of the Society, the following local writers read selections from their own poetry: A. M. Walton, Marvin Newport, Mrs. T. H. Shepherd, E. L. Dukes, and Ben Wilkes.

The first steps toward the organization of a Geneva Historical Society were taken by twenty citizens of Geneva when they met at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Harry White in June. Mrs. White and Dr. Charles Lyttle were named co-chairmen of a committee to plan for such an organization, and to gather data relative to the early history of Geneva. Other members of the committee are Miss Katie Hawkins, Miss Ethel Alexander, Warren Smith, James Scott, H. M. Coultrap, and C. P. Mead. The meeting was addressed by Dr. Lyttle who spoke on the influence of Grecian architecture on the buildings of this state.

Among the items of interest recently turned over to the Jersey County Historical Society for permanent care and filing are the records of Lowe Post, Grand Army of the Republic. Removal of other records of the Historical Society from the basement of the courthouse to the new quarters in the Chapman Building will soon be completed.

The early days of the Mt. Zion vicinity were described in a paper presented by Miss Maria Smith of Mt. Zion at the quarterly meeting of the Macon County Historical Society in Decatur in June. Frank B. Sawyer was re-elected president of the Society. Other officers are Dean McGaughey, vice-president; Miss Mabel Richmond, secretary; and Miss Clara M. Baker, treasurer.

The following officers have been elected by the Oak Park Historical Society to serve during 1943-1944: Frank Stevens, president; Mrs. George W. White, first vice-president; J. C. Miller, second vice-president; Mrs. Adele H. Maze, third vice-president and historian; Mrs. Faye W. Stevens, secretary-treasurer; Mrs. Alice A. Unfried, corresponding secretary; Louis S. Gibson, Dennis J. Ryan, and Thomas Doane, trustees.

The 108 year old building of the Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County has been entirely redecorated and some of its collections have been rearranged. The new wallpapers, carpeting, and lights give the interior a much fresher and more attractive appearance. A library and office have been developed on the ground floor, making it possible to assemble in one place all the books, records, documents, and other historical papers of the Society which were formerly scattered through several rooms and a hallway on the second floor. Many manuscripts and other articles of historical interest have been presented to the Society during the past year.

An unusual corn planting experiment was undertaken by the Rock Island County Historical Society at Black Hawk State Park during the past summer. Half of the old corn hillocks used by the Indians for planting corn in the early 1800's were planted with pure Indian corn, and the other half with hybrid corn. In one plot, both types of corn were subjected to Indian planting practices; in the other both kinds were cultivated according to the most modern methods. Four Indians were brought from the reservation at Tama,

Iowa, to plant the corn during a ceremonial on May 29. The crop was harvested at the annual powwow of the Sauk and Fox Indians on Labor Day. Clair V. Golden, hybrid corn producer, had charge of the experiment.

The Southern Illinois Historical Society recently decided to expand its activities by publishing a quarterly bulletin devoted to regional history. The publication will be sent to all active members of the Society. The June meeting of the Society took the form of a picnic held at Crab Orchard Lake. All officers of the Society were re-elected for another year. They include: Richard L. Beyer, president; T. J. Layman, vice-president; I. O. Karraker, vice-president; E. G. Lentz, secretary; N. W. Draper, treasurer; and John I. Wright, archivist. The three members of the Board of Directors whose terms expired in 1943 were also re-elected. These include: L. O. Trigg, L. A. Sanders, and Miss Mary Roberson. Clarence Bonnell was named chairman of the board.

CONTRIBUTORS

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THE OLD FRENCH TOWNS OF ILLINOIS IN 1839

A Reminiscence

BY J. F. SNYDER

IN the early autumn of 1839, I—then nine and a half years of age—accompanied my father and mother on a very pleasant excursion through parts of St. Clair, Monroe, and Randolph counties, of which I still retain a vivid recollection. In the family carriage drawn by two fine horses, we left our home in Belleville at sunrise one bright morning in the first week of September, taking our course due south through the town, across Richland Creek, and, passing the Ripley and West farms, were soon on the broad road in the high open prairie. Free from the sultry heat of August, but still delightfully mild and pleasant, the weather was simply perfect. Though the wild roses had shed their flowers, and the tall grass and rosin weeds that bordered the roadway were sere and yellow with the presage of maturity, the landscape was fresh and beautiful, enlivened at every step by the shrill song of the meadow lark, and the whirring flight of flocks of startled quails and prairie chickens.

My father, Adam W. Snyder, was at that time a prominent Democratic politician, having, on the previous 3d of March, completed a term as representative in Congress of the First Illinois district, which com-

prised the western half of southern Illinois, including Macoupin, Gallatin, Alexander and Madison counties.[1] My mother, a descendant of early French settlers of this state, was a native of Prairie du Pont, in St. Clair County, and in that vicinity were also born her mother and grandmother. Consequently her circle of relatives and acquaintances extended not only throughout the limits of the American Bottom on this side of the Mississippi River, but from St. Charles down to Cape Girardeau on the other side.

Our destination that morning was Kaskaskia, and the object of our expedition presumably was social visiting and recreation. However, my observation of politicians in the years that have intervened since then leads me now to suspicion that my father's underlying motive in making that journey was to "feel the public pulse" in that part of the district in regard to his re-election to Congress. In those days, when state elections were held on the first Monday in August, political campaigns commenced the year before, and electioneering was perennial. He was then in the grasp of that merciless scourge of the human race, tubercular consumption; but during the past summer his health had apparently much improved, and he was buoyed up with the vain hope of ultimate recovery. Following the smooth road through High Prairie and on in a southwestern direction, we arrived about noon at Waterloo, the county seat of Monroe County. Founded by Daniel P. Cook and George Forquer in 1818, Waterloo in 1839 was quite a brisk

[1] Adam W. Snyder was a native of Pennsylvania who settled in St. Clair County, Illinois, a year or two before Illinois was admitted to the Union. He served three terms in the Illinois Senate and one in Congress. In 1842 he was his party's nominee for governor, but he died on May 14, less than three months before the election. The story of his life is told in *Adam W. Snyder and His Period in Illinois History, 1817-1842* (Virginia, Ill., 1906), by John F. Snyder.

little village, bearing a strong family resemblance to all the other "American" county seats of southern Illinois, having its public square and courthouse, its tavern, stores, groceries, and blacksmith shop, and full complement of idle men and boys whose sole aim and ambition in life was to continue their existence.

The tavern was a pioneer structure of logs, subsequently weatherboarded, with porches and other additions made to keep up with the progress and requirements of the times. It was owned and conducted by an early pioneer, David H. Ditch, a sturdy, quiet, slow-going man, perfectly contented with his condition and surroundings, and never in a hurry. He was a native of Fayette County, Pennsylvania, born there (about the year 1780) within less than a dozen miles of my father's birthplace. His wife was Hannah Forquer, sister of George Forquer and half sister of Gov. Thomas Ford. They were married where they were born, in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, and came to Illinois with Mrs. Ford and her other children in the fall of 1804. That log tavern was among the first houses built in Waterloo, the logs cut and in great part "notched" by Mr. Ditch, and there he and his wife entertained the traveling public for many years, and raised a highly respected family.

Driving up to the tavern Mr. Ditch, in shirt sleeves and straw hat, with bluff, cheerful salutation, invited us in, and relieved my father of further care of the horses. And Mrs. Ditch, answering to his call, took charge of my mother and myself, leading the way to her best room where her hearty welcome banished all restraint and caused us to feel very much at ease. We had not long to wait before the tinkling of the dinner bell announced the noonday meal was ready—for which I also was in

readiness, my juvenile appetite being whetted by the invigorating ride of twenty miles. The dinner was not served "en course;" nor were there any printed bills of fare on the table, or waiters around in spiketail coats; but the platters and dishes were all there heaped high with the most savory, and well-cooked, products of the country from boiled roasting-ears to luscious apple pies, interspersed with chicken pie and roast beef; to all of which we did ample justice while Mrs. Ditch and one of her daughters kept the flies off with long, slender peach tree limbs.

The coming of my father to Waterloo that day must have been expected there, as in the course of the afternoon and evening many of the most prominent citizens and politicians of the town and county called to see him, and "pay him their respects;" and some of them no doubt to consult him concerning the program and "slate" of the Democratic Party for the very important elections to be held the next year. It seemed as if my father was in fact "in the hands of his friends," so numerous were they as to give the occasion the appearance of a public reception on his part. They were all strangers to me excepting a few I had seen as visitors at our house in Belleville; but with some who were there that day I became well acquainted in after years. I well remember John Morrison who was there, the youngest son of the pioneer, William Morrison of Kaskaskia,[2] the oldest of the seven brothers who came west in early days from the Morrison hive in Philadelphia. He, John Morrison, was the father of Col. William R. Morrison the distinguished soldier, statesman, and Democratic leader

[2] William Morrison came to Kaskaskia from Philadelphia in 1790. He soon built up a thriving mercantile business, and was long the foremost merchant of early Illinois. He died at Kaskaskia in 1837.

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of our times.[3] I recall, too, Col. James B. Moore, a plain, but solid-looking man, who was then the state senator representing Monroe, St. Clair and Madison counties jointly with Senator George Churchill of Madison and Senator John Murray of St. Clair. As Col. Moore was a Whig it must be inferred that his call upon my father just then had no political significance, but was prompted altogether by personal friendship and courtesy.

Another plain, and pleasant-mannered person, still retained in my memory since that day, was Edward T. Morgan, at that time the Monroe County member of the state legislature, a fluent talker in conversation, and of social, friendly disposition. But the two men in that assemblage who more particularly attracted my attention—probably because I attracted theirs and they spoke very kindly to me—were Col. James A. James and Dr. William H. Bissell. Col. James, the son of Gen. Thomas James, one of the early pioneers of Monroe County, had the appearance of a substantial and prosperous farmer of more than average prominence in the community. The Democrats elected him the next year (1840) to succeed Col. Moore as state senator, and in 1847 he was elected a delegate to the constitutional convention. Col. James and his family were Catholics, by the influence of the Catholic lady he had married. His cousin, John James, a Protestant, was also a Monroe County farmer, residing not far from the Colonel, down in the American Bottom. Dr. Bissell, at that time, was practicing medicine in Waterloo in partnership with Dr. Harper. He left Painted Post, Steuben County, New York (where he had practiced his profession for three years after his

[3] Veteran of the Mexican and Civil wars, state legislator, member of Congress, member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, 1887-1897, and chairman of the commission after 1892.

graduation, in Philadelphia), in the spring of 1837 for Galesburg, Illinois. He came by the usual immigrant route from the East of those days, down the Ohio and up the Mississippi; but did not reach his intended destination, leaving his boat, for some unknown reason, at Harrisonville, in Monroe County, and soon began teaching a country school in the Bottom, and boarding with the family of Mr. John James. At the August election in 1840 his election by the Democrats (defeating Madison Miller, his Whig opponent), to represent Monroe County in the legislature, was the beginning of his brilliant public career.[4] In December, 1840, he was united in marriage to Miss Emily Susan, daughter of Mr. John James, in the house where she was born on the 14th of December, 1819. In 1841 they moved to Belleville, and there she died in 1844.

Another conspicuous and well-known Democratic politician at the Ditch tavern that day was Hon. John D. Whiteside, son of the noted Indian fighter, Col. Wm. Whiteside, and born at Whiteside Station, a few miles north of Waterloo, where he lived all his life, and died there in 1850. He was then state treasurer, forty-five years of age, ruddy-faced, square built, and a strikingly handsome man. He had served Monroe County as representative in the 7th, 8th, and 9th legislatures, and was elected to the state Senate in the 10th, which position he resigned to accept that of treasurer; was presidential elector in 1836, went to Europe as state fund commissioner, finally hypothecating the $804,000 state interest bonds with Macallister & Stebbins for $261,500 "con-

[4] Bissell served in the Mexican War as colonel of the Second Illinois Volunteers. He was elected to Congress as a Democrat in 1849 and served three terms. He left his party on the Nebraska issue, and in 1856 was elected as the first Republican governor of Illinois. Bissell died in office in 1860.

trary to law," as Ford says. He was a member of the constitutional convention of 1847, and, lastly, again represented Monroe County in the 14th General Assembly. As he was a warm personal friend of my father's, whom he frequently visited at our home, I was well acquainted with him, and admired him very much, especially when he had on his fine broadcloth cloak. Another distinction thrust upon John D. Whiteside was his selection, in September, 1842, by Gen. James Shields to act as his second in the duel he challenged Mr. Lincoln to fight; a duty Whiteside gallantly performed; but the intervention of mutual friends fortunately averted bloodshed.

I soon lost interest in the visiting statesmen, and wandered out into the public square to view the town. While looking around, a good deal of loud talking and swearing in a "grocery"—as dramshops were then called—on one side of the square attracted my attention, and, boylike, I cautiously approached the place to see what was going on. My curiosity was soon gratified when two drunken men came tumbling out of the door clenched in a desperate fight, and pounded each other, in the dirt and dust, to the great amusement of a crowd of idle spectators, until one of them "hollered enough," when they were separated.

The next morning we left Waterloo, after an early breakfast, taking the old pioneer road southward that led us to the picturesque bluffs and down into the broad American Bottom not far above Prairie du Rocher. We stopped at that old French village long enough to water the horses and allow them half an hour's rest, then trotted on over the smooth level road to Kaskaskia. As we went along my father pointed out to my mother the

location of Elvirade, the first residence in Illinois of Gov. Ninian Edwards; also the place near it where Judge Jesse B. Thomas[5] had first settled when he came to the Territory in 1809; and across the Kaskaskia River the mill built by Gen. John Edgar.[6] But about that time I felt much more interested in the prospects of getting to the dinner table than I was in those old historic places.

It was a little past noon when we arrived at the old town and drove up to the broad front porch of the widow Short's tavern, the same tavern—then conducted by Col. Sweet—where Gen. Lafayette was entertained when he visited Kaskaskia in April, 1825. It was a long, one-story frame building with wide porches on each side, spacious fireplaces at each end, and roomy attic above, lighted and ventilated by dormer windows. Situated on the main street leading north from the ferry landing at the top of the slope from the river, it faced the east, and was but a short distance from the old church and cemetery. Mrs. Short, the landlady, was the daughter of Major Nicholas Jarrot distinguished in the annals of Cahokia as one of its early and most enterprising citizens. She was married in 1826, at Cahokia, to Thomas Short, son of the noted ranger and frontiersman, Capt. Jacob Short. They resided for awhile, from about 1830 to 1833, at Illinoistown (now East St. Louis), engaged there in tavern keeping, then moving to Kaskaskia took charge of the "Col. Sweet Hotel," the only tavern there. Tom Short died in 1837 leaving his widow with one child. Mrs. Short, a brisk,

[5] Illinois territorial judge, president of the first Illinois constitutional convention, and United States senator, 1818-1829.

[6] Landowner, merchant, and miller who settled in Kaskaskia in 1784 and lived there until his death in 1832. Edgar County was named in his honor.

energetic woman, when thrown upon her own resources, continued in the tavern business with much success. She was a handsome, intelligent, and vivacious brunette, of gay, sunny disposition, very highly esteemed by a wide range of friends and acquaintances. In 1841 she married William Morrison, son of the first William Morrison of Kaskaskia, and with him moved to Belleville where they resided the rest of their lives. Mrs. Short and my mother, born within a mile of each other, and about the same age, grew up together, attending mass together at the old Cahokia church, and dancing at all the village balls, were close friends until separated by death. Mrs. Short's only child, a boy named Tom, a year or so older than myself, a merry, kindhearted, sportive fellow, was my constant companion during my stay at the Short tavern, and succeeded in making my visit interesting and exceedingly pleasant. From our first meeting we took quite a fancy to each other, that grew, with daily association after he came up to Belleville and was our nearest neighbor, to a firm friendship severed by his death in 1852.

Kaskaskia at that period, though past its political and commercial glory, was still a considerable town, and, socially, very lively. In almost every feature it bore the aspect of age, and in some were seen the ravages of decay. Many of the houses were decidedly antiquated, and some dilapidated; but the inhabitants, who were mainly of the primitive Canadian French stock, seemed to be well contented with their condition and surroundings. The town had no factory of any description, or other local industry to employ its people, as the community was agricultural and pastoral, deriving its support chiefly from its "commons," a magnificent tract

of adjoining land, several thousands of acres in extent, level as a floor, and not surpassed in fertility by the famed valley of the Nile. Three general stores in which dry goods, hardware and groceries were sold supplied the wants of the villagers in those lines, and one "grocery"—not yet dignified by the title of saloon—not far from the tavern, I remember, had its full share of public patronage. The dwellings, with few exceptions, were of the ancient French pattern, made of wood, one story and attic, many with dormer windows in the roof, and all surrounded with porches, having around each ample, well-kept gardens with fruit trees, shrubbery, and profusion of flowers.

Homemade carts constructed altogether of wood, and drawn by one horse, or pony, were in general use by the French *habitants*, and their only means for transportation and travel. A few, very few of the most opulent citizens had eastern-made, or imported carriages. Occasionally a light one-horse "dearborn" wagon was seen, and now and then a covered two-wheel gig known there (improperly) as a *calèche*. The two-horse farm wagons that came to Edgar's mill, and into the town, with grain or other produce, invariably belonged to American settlers, and were an innovation that the French were very slow to adopt. The natives were very partial to horseback riding, and had a great number of ponies of degenerate Canadian stock, but few, if any, large or fine horses.

Tom Short, Jr., and myself were attracted to each other on my arrival at the tavern, becoming at once boon companions, much to the gratification no doubt of my parents who were thus measurably relieved of my care, enabling them to devote their time without hin-

drance to their many social engagements. Tom was familiar with every nook and corner, and with every inhabitant, of the place and vicinity, and was given the right of way wherever he chose to go. For five days we rambled at will about the town, along the river bank, and among the ancient gravestones in the little grass-grown cemetery, having with us at times, as companion and special guardian, a Negro boy, a few years older than either of us, who belonged to one of Mrs. Short's boarders. There was no order or regularity in arrangement of the tombs and gravestones in the cemetery, and the number of them was very small in proportion to the multitude of dead buried there. Some of the headstones had fallen down and lay half buried in the ground, and all were weather-beaten and lichen-stained. The surface level of the cemetery was elevated considerably above that of the surrounding streets and lots, raised by addition, through passing centuries, of human remains.

The old church, time-worn and dilapidated, was still there where it had stood in defiance of the winds and storms of a century and a quarter. I have no recollection of the plan or materials of its construction, and did not see its interior; but its peculiarities that particularly attracted my attention, and indelibly impressed my memory, were its wide projecting eaves, the heavy growth of moss covering its roof like a green velvet carpet, and the rickety old belfry on its front end surmounted by a cross.[7]

[7] "The statements of certain writers regard[ing] the church at Kaskaskia, though conflicting, plainly discredit what I have written about it here. In a paper read by Rev. David J. Doherty, on Feb. 15th, 1877, before the Missouri Historical Society, he said, in reference to the old church: 'It has this year, 1838, been pulled down, on account of its being too much injured by the weather, &c.' Edmund Flagg, author of *The Far West*, who visited Kaskaskia in the summer of 1836, after describing the old church there (Vol. II. pp. 172-173) added a footnote when his book was published, two years later, asserting in it that, 'The old building has been since dismantled, how-

The population of Kaskaskia at that time could not have exceeded six hundred including, perhaps, from fifty to seventy-five Negro slaves. All of the native whites were of French descent, and, of course, Catholics. The language they spoke was the *patois* of Canada, a perversion of the French—with which I then was much more familiar than I was with the English. There were, however, then residing there several "Americans," as all English-speaking persons were designated, but they had learned the native dialect and adopted the methods of life, customs and habits of the natives. One of that class was Doctor Swanwick, a permanent boarder at the Short tavern, and a very pleasant though somewhat eccentric gentleman, who won my respect and admiration by gathering up from the table after each meal scraps of food, as he said, "for his dear little children," as he styled the two kittens he kept at his bachelor quarters, or office.

Of the social life of Kaskaskia of that era I can recall but little, for, in fact, I had but little opportunity to observe it, as I was running at large every day with Tom Short, Jo. Chenon, and other boys, while my parents were receiving, or calling on, their friends; or attending society entertainments at which, then as now, the pres-

ever; its bell removed from the tower, and the whole structure will soon, probably, be prostrated by "decay's effacing finger." ' A letter appearing in one of the Chicago Sunday papers in Sept., 1898,—said to have been written by Judge H. W. Beckwith—mentions the demolishing and removal of the brick church building in Kaskaskia on account of the rapid encroachment of the Mississippi River on the remaining remnant of the old town, and adds in reference to that brick building, 'It was erected in 1831, sixty-seven years ago, &c.' The brick church was, in fact, not erected until the year 1841, and finished some years later.

Though I was but nine and a half years old at the date of my first visit to Kaskaskia—as herein related, in September, 1839—I remember distinctly the old church, as described by Edmund Flagg, and am positively certain it was still standing there. Its broad eaves and moss covered roof made an impression on my youthful mind not effaced, or even dimmed, by the passing of sixty-nine years. That impression was strengthened, confirmed, and fixed by frequent allusions to the old church as we saw it, in conversations with my mother to the time of her death, in 1881. J. F. S."

Kaskaskia As It Appeared About the Time of Dr. Snyder's Visit

ence of children was not particularly desired. And after the strenuous exercise of the day I was usually more inclined to go up to my bed in the attic soon after supper, although sounds of merriment and strains of the fiddle from near-by points indicated that joy in the old town was still unconfined, than to lose sleep as a mere looker-on.

But one day as Tom and I were hurrying from the dinner table to go canoe riding on the river with our colored guardian, we were notified to be home early if we wished to go with our parents to a fine party that evening. The Okaw River was at a low stage, with sluggish current that offered no great resistance to the canoe's progress as paddled by our *garcon* who was an expert oarsman. We went up to the mill, and there fished awhile in fine luck, catching quite a string of fish notwithstanding the lateness of the season. Returning leisurely we reached the tavern in good time for supper and to dress for the expected entertainment. That noted event was a reception and ball at the residence of Judge Nathaniel Pope[8] in honor of my father. By seven o'clock we arrived at the Judge's mansion, where we found the greater number of his invited guests already assembled. It was a brilliant affair graced by the presence of all the elite and beauty of the town and vicinity, and also by a good many of the plain, common people. The reception proper occupied but a short time, and then dancing commenced. I can now see, in memory, the rotund figure of Judge Pope with my mother, and my father with Mrs. Pierre Menard, as partners, leading the dance in the first set.

[8] Territorial secretary of Illinois, and the territorial delegate who obtained the admission of the state to the Union. Appointed United States district judge in 1819, he held that position until his death in 1850.

Tom Short and I were admitted as spectators in charge of a colored servant girl of Mrs. Short's, who had strict instructions to see that we violated none of the proprieties, to take us home when we became sleepy, and see us safely in bed. Much to the gratification of our saddle-colored chaperon, we didn't get sleepy until sometime after the midnight banquet, nor at any time did we overtax her vigilance, as she passed the night in hilarious enjoyment with the other servants in the kitchen and dining room.

At that time Judge Pope was fifty-five years of age, in the vigorous prime of his life, his dark hair streaked with gray, yet firm of step, and activity unimpaired. He was not quite six feet tall, very slightly stoop-shouldered, and a little inclined to corpulency. He was a deliberate talker, dignified in bearing, and courtly in manners. His conversation, by no means devoid of humor, was cheerful and entertaining. When presented to him by my father he spoke to me very kindly, and on leaving him he expressed the hope that I would grow up to be of some service to my native state.

Col. Pierre Menard was there, then seventy years old, with all the appearance of an old man.[9] He looked weak and careworn, perhaps from ill-health; but was mentally bright, and very talkative. Mrs. Menard, who was with him, was his second wife, and apparently several years his junior in age. She was yet a handsome woman, with tall, shapely figure, black eyes and black hair, dark complexioned, and animated in speech and manners. She was, before her marriage to Col. Menard, Angelique Saucier, a daughter of François Saucier, and

[9] Menard died in 1844, at the age of seventy-eight. He was a prominent merchant of Kaskaskia, and the first lieutenant governor of Illinois.

cousin of my mother's mother—whose maiden name was Adelaide Saucier. In consequence of that distant relationship we received from her and Col. Menard very marked attention.

The rooms were well lighted by candles on the mantelpiece and in tin sconces on the wall; and the floors, well polished and waxed, were as smooth as glass. The reigning belle of Kaskaskia society was Miss Adeline Maxwell, a radiantly beautiful native of the place, who some years later married a steamboat captain, and lived to an old age. But all the ladies—more particularly the young and middle-aged—who participated in that dance, were a marvel of grace and finery, which was well worth a journey to the site of Kaskaskia to see. Their dresses, with very few exceptions, were of fine material, colored, figured and showy, cut very *décolleté*, with short and narrow skirts, extremely short-waisted, and only apologies for sleeves, or none at all. Some had their hair done up in curls, but the most of them confined their hair to the back of the head with high, broad, tortoise-shell combs. They were adorned with a profusion of jewelry, gold bracelets and rings, and necklaces of gold, pearl, and jet beads; and all had earrings, many of which were pendants of gold and gems that touched their bare shoulders. As dancing was a hereditary talent with those French natives, all danced elegantly, entering into it with keen enthusiasm. The parish priest was an interested guest until after refreshments were served, and certainly fully enjoyed the entertainment.

While I was entranced with every feature of the function—with the supper particularly—the one that most especially interested me, I think, was the music, or

rather, the musicians. There were two of them, both fiddlers—not violinists—playing together, one a mulatto, the other a white native Creole. The latter wore a gaudy, red-figured calico shirt and buckskin breeches with a red sash around his waist and a bandana handkerchief tied around his head. They both played well, the Creole calling the figures in a loud clear voice, at the same time keeping perfect time by tapping the floor with his foot, his very soul enwrapped in the performance. For some time I sat near him in silent appreciation of his genius. I have since heard Ole Bull, and other world-famed violinists, but none of them ever held me so spellbound as did that Creole fiddler with the red shirt. An hour, or so, after supper the dusky damsel to whose care we had been consigned escorted us home; but the older members of our party did not return until very near, or quite, daylight.

A favorite place of rendezvous for the Kaskaskia boys, for playing, getting up fishing excursions, or other sports and pastimes, was a vacant lot near the center of the town, about a hundred yards west by south of the convent. It was sandy, and measurably free from weeds; but all through it were buried, or half-hidden, rocks the remains, beyond doubt, of a building, or buildings, that once stood there. The name by which it was known among the boys was "the old fort" (*le vieux fort*), a name unmeaning to them, as it was to myself; but many years later I recognized its historic significance as the surviving vestige of a tradition lost to all but a very few in that community. Upon that lot was situated the Jesuit establishment founded in 1720, and confiscated to the Crown (of France) in 1763 by the Superior Council of Louisiana, a year before the French parliament sup-

pressed the Jesuit order. When the British were forced by overflow of the Mississippi in 1772 to evacuate Fort Chartres, they moved to Kaskaskia where they took possession of the vacant Jesuit buildings there, enclosed them with high pickets, and gave to their new station the name of Fort Gage, in honor of Gen. Gage, commander of the British forces in America. Six years later, on the night of July 4, 1778, sixty-one years before my visit there, that fort was captured by Col. Geo. Rogers Clark. It then passed into possession of the state of Virginia, and subsequently into that of the United States. After its abandonment by the Virginia garrison, in 1780, it gradually fell in ruins which were for a long time known locally as "the old fort."

My father and mother, Mrs. Short, Tom and myself leaving the tavern one morning, in our carriage, crossed the Kaskaskia River on the flatboat ferry and drove to Col. Menard's mansion to spend the day.[10] The hearty, cheerful hospitality of the Colonel and his family, the perfect weather and charming surroundings, made the visit an occasion of rare pleasure and enjoyment. While the grown folks spent the time in social converse and hilarity in the parlor and on the broad front porch, Tom and I rambled at will about the spacious premises, finding amusement and interest in all we saw. With abundance of peaches, apples and watermelons, and the kindest attention paid to us we had no reason to feel lonesome; yet, by the time dinner was over we were tired—perhaps weary of the restraint imposed by our clean clothes, and the special caution impressed upon us not to soil them. Early in the afternoon Col. Menard sent a Negro man,

[10] The Menard home, now a state memorial, is the only building of old Kaskaskia still standing. Located across the river and at some distance from the town, it escaped destruction when the Mississippi changed its course and obliterated the town proper.

with a horse and cart, to Kaskaskia for a sack of salt he had there—a commodity in those days shipped from the Gallatin and Jackson County salines in sacks containing 200 pounds each. The novelty of a cart ride and our desire to get back to the tavern determined us to ask the colored man's permission to go with him, which he gladly granted, provided our mothers assented; and they did—gladly too, I think. Seated on clean straw he put into the cart for our accommodation, we had a jolly time getting to town though the traveling was not very speedy.

In the afternoon of the next day, again in our carriage with my parents and others, we crossed the broad, level commons dotted with hay and wheat stacks, and the pastures still green with grass and clover, to the bank of the Mississippi, three miles west, to pay our homage to the great river, and incidentally catch a glimpse of the old village of Ste. Genevieve on the western side, nine miles beyond at the bend of the stream. The water was very low, giving unusual prominence to its many snags and long, barren sandbars in midstream and stretching out from either bank. No steamboat was in sight, or other river craft, but the skiff and canoe of a Frenchman who occupied a cabin near by and eked out his living by fishing and rowing occasional passengers across the river. In returning we stopped at the old two-story brick mansion of Gov. Bond, then still in good condition,[11] and tenanted by acquaintances of some or all of our party, arriving at the tavern as the rays of the setting sun were gilding the crests of the bluffs beyond the historic Okaw.

[11] Half a century or more ago the home of Governor Bond was taken down, removed to Kaskaskia Island—that paradoxical portion of Illinois which lies west of the Mississippi River—and there rebuilt. It is still standing.

Much too soon to suit me our visit reached its limit. After the noonday meal of the fifth day of our sojourn there, we bid our friends farewell and took our departure from Kaskaskia. Passing out at the Cahokia gate we followed the well-beaten road leading north, in sight of the Kaskaskia River until we passed the point where it breaks through the range of bluffs in its course from the northeastern prairies to join the Mississippi, and continuing on the old trail along the foot of the bluffs, arrived at Prairie du Rocher early in the afternoon. Having several old-time acquaintances to visit there we remained overnight in that ancient hamlet, entertained at its only public house—or rather, at the private residence of Monsieur Antoine Barbeau, an old native of the place, who obligingly entertained the few travelers happening to come that way. The only indelible impression I have retained of Prairie du Rocher on that occasion is of the grand rocky cliff towering over a hundred feet perpendicularly above the village, and the great swarm of cliff swallows circling around, or clinging to their mud nests built on the face of the rock, keeping up in the meantime an incessant shrill chattering or discordant warbling. I also have a lively recollection of the mosquitoes there, more numerous, and more voracious than those of Kaskaskia. The Barbeaus, our host and hostess, were unalloyed specimens of the non-progressive exotic Creole race that originally settled in the American Bottom, dark-complexioned, black-haired and black-eyed, slow-motioned, contented, sociable, and very kind and hospitable.

Having a long journey before us next day we made preparations for an early start, and in the morning left Prairie du Rocher with the rising of the sun. Taking

with us, as a guide, a Creole employe of Mr. Barbeau's mounted on a pony, we drove over a very dim, grass-grown road to the site of old Fort Chartres nearly four miles west. The long, dry summer had dried up the intervening sloughs leaving their beds solid enough to drive over without difficulty. What I most distinctly remember about the site of the great fortress were the tangled bushes and briars and tall trees that had overgrown the place. I then, of course, knew nothing of the history of Fort Chartres, but understood from my father's remarks as he pointed to the course of the stone walls, which in some places were still three or four feet high, that it was an old and very interesting ruin. We inspected the old magazine that to me appeared to have been built for an ice house, the thought suggested by the ice house at our home constructed of stone and partly below the surface of the ground. A well we saw before getting to the magazine was a conspicuous object, as its lining wall of neatly cut and accurately fitted stones, denuded, by action of water currents during an overflow of the Mississippi, of some of the surrounding earth, stood up about three feet high much resembling the top of a sunken chimney. Our guide led us out through bushes and tall prairie grass to the Cahokia road some distance above Prairie du Rocher, from whence, taking leave of us he returned to the village, and we continued our course northward. At midday we halted for an hour or more at a farm house by the roadside for refreshments for ourselves and horses, then resuming our journey we drove into Cahokia at dusk.

But a short time after our arrival a delegation of young folks came to request—and insist upon—the presence of my parents at a dancing party going on at

Ruins of Powder Magazine at Fort de Chartres About 1840

the residence of an old friend near by. They would listen to no excuse, so, notwithstanding the fatigue of a fifty mile journey that day, my father and mother yielded to their persuasion and went with them. As I was given the option of going along with them, or going to bed I chose the latter without hesitation.

Cahokia in 1839—the same as Kaskaskia—was perceptibly in its decadence, but still retaining very much of its former importance and peculiar interest, with no appreciable contraction of its original limits. Nor had its people changed in type and characteristics since the village was founded in 1698. Their habits, customs, manners and dress were about the same as those of their peasant ancestry of the northern provinces of France in the 17th century. The early possessors of a virgin country of untold natural resources, and for half a century surrounded by the example and influence of an incoming progressive, enterprising and industrious race, they were stationary, or gradually retrograding. They were all Catholics, and, with very few exceptions, all illiterate; without aspirations, or impulse of ambition, they were perfectly contented, with never a thought or desire to better their condition. In my boyhood I was well acquainted with an old lady there, a native of the place and mother of a grown-up family, who had never been in St. Louis—simply because she had never desired to go there—although the distance was but seven miles, and ferriage of the Mississippi was free to all Cahokians in consideration of the ferry landing on the Illinois side being on part of the Cahokia Commons. In 1839, and until the great overflow of the Mississippi in 1844, there were quite a number of very neat, and some elegant, residences in Cahokia, surrounded by fine, well-kept

gardens, fruit orchards, abundant flowers, and all the domestic conveniences of that day.

The few "American" citizens of the village, married to native Creoles, had adopted all the ways of life of the Creoles, spoke the Creole dialect, and were, in every essential respect, Creoles by naturalization. The most important resident of that class then there was Doctor Armstead O. Butler, a native of Virginia and graduate of a Philadelphia medical college, who located in Cahokia in 1824, and married Miss Jene Tournot, whose parents, as well as herself, were born in Cahokia. His son, John O. Butler, three years older than myself, was my companion while there, introducing me to the best melon patches and peach trees in the village, and managed his dugout canoe on the *rigole* in our daily excursions with the dexterity of an Indian. Another Cahokian by adoption of note was Doctor William Gale Goforth, a man of sense, but of peculiarly grotesque physiognomy, and many eccentricities of mind and habits. He came there from Cincinnati in 1825, soon learned the local language, was a successful practitioner of medicine, and married Miss Eulalie Hay, daughter of John Hay, the most popular, highly efficient, and best educated of the Creoleized Americans of the American Bottom. They were, however, divorced by act of the legislature in 1834 because of incompatibility of temperament.

Among our entertainers was Mrs. Julia Jarrot, who was born there in 1780, widow of Major Nicholas Jarrot, still occupying the grand mansion, built by the Major in 1800 of brick brought from Pittsburgh. We were there shown—as all non-resident visitors were shown—the long vertical crack in the west wall of the fine old building caused by the memorable New Madrid earthquake

of 1811. After 1844 it presented to curious visitors another point of historic interest in the discoloration of the interior walls marking to what depth—about seven feet—it was submerged during the unprecedented flood of that year.

We remained in Cahokia three days, in the meantime visiting Prairie du Pont, a mile south of it, my mother's birthplace, and mine, one afternoon, returning to the old town by moonlight. During the entire three days we received the kindest personal attentions and generous hospitality from the people who knew my parents so well, and among whom they had together commenced the earnest struggle of life; and on the morning of the fourth day, to my regret—for I knew on the next Monday I would have to again start to school—we took up our course homeward.

THE GENESIS OF RESTORED NEW SALEM

BY G. E. NELSON

THE Old Salem Cumberland Presbyterian State Chautauqua Association was incorporated not for profit under the laws of the State of Illinois on October 1, 1897. The charter sets out the object to be as follows: "The object for which it is formed is to conduct a summer assembly or school of Art, Literature, Science, Music, Bible Study and Athletics as a Chautauqua Association."

In the year 1898 in the month of August the first assembly was held, and the programs were given under a large tent. Patrons of the assembly, which lasted two weeks, came from numerous localities of Illinois and from other states as well and lived in tents. Within a few years numerous summer cottages were erected on the lots which, while not for sale, were available under a lease provision of the corporation. During the first ten or twelve years each annual assembly was a decided success. The Association erected a number of buildings including the large auditorium, the hotel, the ice cream pavilion, and the Lincoln Memorial. The largest attendance on any one day of an assembly was when Miss Ellen M. Stone appeared on the platform on August 12, 1902, and gave a lecture. It will be remembered that she had been held for ransom in Bulgaria, and the great amount of publicity with reference to her captivity and release helped bring about an attendance of ten thousand

people on the grounds on the afternoon when she spoke. Many of the greatest orators of the country appeared on the platform, and musical and dramatic organizations also gave performances.

In the year 1906 William Randolph Hearst spoke from the platform on an afternoon of the annual assembly, and at the close of his speech he handed to the president of Old Salem Chautauqua Association a deed conveying to the Chautauqua Association the site of the old village of New Salem and land adjacent to it, the entire acreage being about fifty-two acres. The deed of conveyance contains a reversionary clause which is in the following language:

> It is a part of the consideration and an essential element of this deed that said property shall be used by the grantee herein only for the purposes set forth in its charter and shall not be sold or conveyed or used for any other purposes and in the event of the grantee's misuse of the said property or abandonment of its charter or any other proper cause then said property shall revert to the grantor herein, his heirs or assigns.

The deed bears date of August 18, 1906, and it is shown of record in Book Fifty of deeds, page 461, in the Recorder's Office in Petersburg, Illinois.

The Old Salem Chautauqua Association took possession of the conveyed tract, and as occasion presented itself rented it for pasture purposes.

For several days before the seventeenth annual assembly opened in August, 1915, there had been heavy rainfall in the upper Sangamon River watershed, which produced a high overflow of the Sangamon River at the Chautauqua Park. The river water backed into the Association well and contaminated it. A severe typhoid epidemic followed among those who had attended the

assembly and had used the water in the well for drinking purposes.

The Association had been falling behind in revenue before the year 1915, and the epidemic appeared to spell doom to Old Salem. A majority of the eleven directors had personally guaranteed payment of a note of $14,000, the sum being the amount of the indebtedness of the Association. Most of the indebtedness was for money borrowed to complete the extensive building operations which had taken place. In the year 1916 there was no activity of any sort in the Chautauqua Park. The patrons who had leased lots and constructed cottages there contemplated wholesale removal of the cottages, the leases having terminated. A few cottages were taken down and removed.

Such was the situation in the early autumn of 1916. I had been elected to fill a vacancy on the board of directors and therefore was familiar with the organization and the conditions existing. On a Sunday afternoon early in the fall of 1916, I took one of my fairly frequent walks from my home in Petersburg to what we called "Salem Hill," now better known as the New Salem State Park. I stopped at the Offut store site and observed the three trees which had grown out of the basement of the store and were becoming sizable saplings. Then I wandered out to the west end of the village site, and there I observed hogs grazing and rooting up the sod. The realization came to me that the Chautauqua Association had owned the place for ten years but had never done anything with it except to rent it out for pasture land to neighborhood farmers. I recalled that during the preceding week a farmer client had called at my office and inquired as to what would probably be the disposition

of the buildings at the Chautauqua Park. He said that he would be interested in the auditorium because he could make a nice cattle barn out of it by moving it out to his farm.

The idea of Lincoln's old home town serving as a hog pasture, and of the auditorium from the Chautauqua Park being made into a cattle barn on a farm, provoked me into serious consideration as to whether or not something could be done to restore New Salem as it was in Lincoln's time, and to resurrect and save the Old Salem Chautauqua. While thinking the thing over, it occurred to me that there would be great difficulty in getting the Old Salem Chautauqua patrons to finance a resurrection of that institution if it were to be for Chautauqua Assembly purposes only. Tent chautauquas, more or less competitors of Old Salem, had sprung up all over the state; almost every town of a few hundred inhabitants or more had a circuit chautauqua where the Lyceum and Chautauqua companies furnished the big tents, program, and the platform manager. The Old Salem Chautauqua had competition from Lincoln, Weldon Springs, and other places in Illinois where there were resident chautuaquas.

However, it seemed to me that with the great historic interest of the site—Lincoln had surveyed a road which ran through the park in a northeasterly and southwesterly direction—the beautiful trees, the character of the land and soil which composed the Chautauqua Park, and the many lots which had nice cottages erected upon them, it would be possible to work out a plan whereby the cottage owners would be willing to purchase the lots upon which the cottages were located, and by which the lessees of vacant lots would buy them.

There appeared to be one element missing, and that was the lack of interest in saving the park if it were only to be used two weeks in the year for Chautauqua program purposes. It then occurred to me that the necessary thing to do was to provide swimming and fishing for the patrons—to make the place a summer resort, where families could come and camp and the children learn to swim, and where fishing could be made more popular than it had been in the Sangamon River. Then I thought of calling upon the Ike Walton Club, a voluntary association of twelve business and professional men of which I was a member, and asking that association to incorporate itself and provide for a membership not to exceed 200, for the purpose of building a dam across the creek which empties into the Sangamon River at the northwest corner of the Chautauqua Park.

The more I thought about the thing the more it seemed plausible. Some of the cottage owners would be willing to purchase the lots, and those who did not wish to do so could sell the cottages to others who might wish to come into such a program for saving Old Salem. Title to these lots would be in Old Salem and it could give good title.

Some of the cottage owners and lot lessees would not go any further with the Chautauqua Association, but would be willing to help save, in some way, the old site of New Salem if given the opportunity. It seemed to me that numerous persons not interested in the Chautauqua Association, and not interested in the Ike Walton Club, would be interested in a new organization which would have as its purpose the restoration of the village of New Salem.

It was imperative that something be done, or the

people of Petersburg and Menard County and the other surrounding towns and counties would lose the old site of New Salem because of the failure of the Chautauqua Association to function. The reversionary clause in the William Randolph Hearst deed would give Mr. Hearst the right to reclaim the land, and to do what he pleased with it. On my return that Sunday evening, after having given several hours' thought to the matter, I wrote a constitution and bylaws for the Old Salem Lincoln League; the next day I started circulating it for signatures. I would say now from my recollection that three out of every four who were solicited signed the instrument. On February 15, 1917, we held our first meeting and banquet in the dining room of the First Christian Church in Petersburg, Illinois, at which fifty-five members were present, and organized as a voluntary association. Shortly thereafter it was incorporated not for profit under the laws of the State of Illinois.

A plan for redeeming the property of the old association was presented to the lot lessees and the public and accepted, and the new association was incorporated under the name of the Old Salem Chautauqua Association. The charter contains in substance the object of the old one with an added provision for conducting an all-summer camp. Fourteen thousand dollars was raised, and the new association purchased the property from the guarantors who had taken it over. Warranty deeds with chautauqua restrictions were given for lots to those who redeemed their lots or took assignments from lessees.

After the new Chautauqua Association was organized a program of talent was procured for the year 1917 and the annual assembly was restored. It should be stated

that the State Board of Health was called upon to superintend the new water and sewer systems at the Chautauqua Park, and to furnish the association with a rebuilding program to be carried out in a manner to insure against any future disaster. This the State Board did, and the Chautauqua Board adhered strictly to its directions.

The Old Salem Lincoln League began an intensive campaign to interest people in the restoration of the village. On the Fourth of July, 1917, a picnic was held under the trees near the site of the Offut store. All elderly people who knew anything at all about New Salem were urged to attend the picnic and to furnish the Relics and Sites Committee with such information as they might have. It was a gala day, and a great deal of valuable information was procured by the Relics and Sites Committee.

In the spring of 1918 the Old Salem Lincoln League was requested to take the lead in Menard County in providing an appropriate centennial celebration of statehood. There were no buildings at all on the New Salem site. The Old Salem Chautauqua board of directors, eleven in number, the Old Salem Lincoln League directors, nine in number, and the Ike Walton Club directors, seven in number, were perfectly interlocking in letter and in spirit. Together they worked out a plan for providing a suitable stage for the centennial celebration.

In about the year 1902 the Old Chautauqua Association had set out what is now the beautiful maple grove around the athletic field and to the south, and, as a protection, poplars had been planted alternating with the maples. The maples, while not very large in the spring of 1918, were ready to do without the shade of the

poplars; consequently, the poplars, being of no value for lumber, were presented to the Old Salem Lincoln League by the Old Salem Chautauqua Association, the only consideration being that the league should remove them from the Chautauqua Park. With these poplar logs, together with some oak sills that were procured from Salem Hill itself, the cabin replicas were constructed which were seen during the years following 1918 and up to the time that the State of Illinois commenced the restoration. Such replicas were the only buildings restored then, and served their most practical purpose in the early September two-day pageant celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of statehood. It might be said in passing that the buildings, five in number, erected out of the poplars (excepting the Berry-Lincoln store which was a frame building), were mostly built on a day set apart by the league in the summer of 1918, when farmers, business men, doctors, dentists, lawyers, preachers, and laborers all gathered at the park and in one day completed as much of each building as possible. The roofs were of clapboards rived by an old gentleman who in an early day had done that sort of work. The centennial celebration was a huge success, attracting much attention, and it assisted the Old Salem Lincoln League greatly in getting desired publicity for the restoration of the village. The league published a book, *Lincoln at New Salem*, which came out in three editions. Thomas P. Reep, chairman of the Relics and Sites Committee, was the author. This book helped greatly in creating public sentiment for the restoration of New Salem.

The Ike Walton Club procured necessary land, which was to be submerged, and built the dam. For a number

of years, swimming, fishing, and boating were enjoyed by the campers and visitors, and the Old Salem Chautauqua Association enjoyed about twelve prosperous years.

Until it became generally known that the village of New Salem was going to be restored, the Old Salem Lincoln League had continued as an organization for male members only. When it was a matter of log raising and outside work, the women had performed wonderful service by providing food for the workers, and the women fed the entire Illinois legislature, both houses, at a later time when the members were invited out to see for themselves the desirability of restoring New Salem.

In the year 1919 the State of Illinois, at the request of the Old Salem Lincoln League, took over the land as a gift from the old Association, Mr. Hearst joining in the transfer by releasing his reversionary interest. Mention should probably be made here that from time to time the state has added to the park adjacent tracts of land by purchase, and now, as is generally known, the New Salem village is fully restored and is a memorial to Lincoln and the sturdy pioneers of New Salem and vicinity.

When it became certain that the cabins would be restored, the great need for women members became apparent, and women were made eligible for membership in the Old Salem Lincoln League. Looking back over the years at the work that was done, it is hard to state whether the men were more important than the women, or vice versa. When one looks at the outside of the buildings, one thinks about the men, but when one looks into the interiors, the men are forgotten; then thoughts go out in gratitude to the women of the league

for doing such a perfect job in furnishing the cabins with household goods, kitchen utensils, etc., and the stores with their necessary exhibits.

Old Salem Chautauqua Association has had rough going, and the Ike Walton Club has had difficulty in keeping alive, but the Old Salem Lincoln League has flourished and still flourishes. May it not be hoped that the Old Salem Chautauqua Association and the Ike Walton Club may both come back bigger and better, not only for the valiant work that they did in their own organizations, but also because further benefits to New Salem Park may yet be had through their rehabilitation.

THE EDUCATION OF FEMALES IN EARLY ILLINOIS

BY CLARENCE P. MCCLELLAND

ARE WOMEN PEOPLE? was the title of a satirical book by Alice Duer Miller, published in 1915. Her answer was, "No, my son, criminals, lunatics and women are not people." Such a question is not being raised today, even in fun, and certainly not in irony or sarcasm. Yes, women are people. In 1920 they were given the right to vote, and for a decade or more their number in higher institutions of learning has practically equaled that of men. Today they are working side by side with men on the same terms in industry and in the professions and even in the armed forces. They have replaced millions of men who have been drafted for military service and have taken over many new jobs which have been created.

In 1818, when Illinois was admitted to statehood, the position of women in America was so different that it is almost unbelievable that so great a change could have taken place within so comparatively short a time. Their sphere in life then was narrowly circumscribed and was determined largely by the generally accepted fact that in intelligence they were inferior to men. This made it unnecessary, and even futile, to educate them much beyond the three R's. There was no doubt in anybody's mind as to the proper sphere of women. It was the home—"the allotted sphere"—it was called. A woman's

first duty was to be a good housekeeper, a submissive wife, and the mother of as many children as it might please God to send her, whom, up to the age of adolescence, she would teach above everything else to fear God and to work hard. The daughters would be her little apprentices.

Eliza Southgate, in 1804, referring to the generally accepted view that women's minds were inferior, wrote: "Sprightliness is in favor of females and profundity of males. . . . I found the mind of a female, if such a thing existed, was thought not worth cultivating."[1]

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries nearly all families in America were relatively poor. In those which were wealthy, there were sometimes tutors to instruct the daughters, using the time left over from the instruction of the sons, but the aim of education offered to women in the home or in the earliest boarding schools was the "acquisition of accomplishments that they might embellish the home and society of their husbands." As we look back to the early nineteenth century, then, if we are to understand the early efforts at their higher education, we must keep in mind that women were generally considered mentally inferior and that their place was in the home.

But in this paper we are to consider particularly the education of young women on the frontier in Illinois and so let us ask, first of all, "What kind of women were they?" In *Look to the Mountain*, a best seller, by LeGrand Cannon, Jr., the pioneer woman in New Hampshire a generation earlier is skillfully and realistically portrayed. Look at her, and you see the same woman

[1] Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States* (New York, 1929), I: 129 n.

depicted in the monument, "The Pioneer Mother," which stands in Penn Valley Park, Kansas City, Missouri, at the beginning of the old Santa Fe trail. One feels a thrill of admiration and gratitude as he looks up at that mother on horseback, riding westward, with her baby in her arms and gazing with fearless and expectant look towards the wilderness, beyond which, to her and to her husband, was the land of dreams.

This pioneer mother and Melissa Livingston, of New Hampshire, both still in their teens, experienced the same hardships, the same sorrows, the same joys and, as compared with modern women were almost entirely lacking in formal education. It is a mistaken idea, commonly held, that in the settlements of Illinois there were many well educated women from New England or perhaps from Kentucky or Virginia. It is natural that we should hold to this view because of our tendency to romanticize the past. The fact is, however, that there were very few women on the frontier who had received more than an elementary education.

Nor were the men, with a few exceptions, much better educated. Abraham Lincoln was born in 1809. Through most of his adolescence he lived in Indiana. In the brief autobiography which he wrote for campaign purposes, in 1860, he said that he had spent less than one year in school, but, at another time, he said, referring to the time he lived in Indiana, that he had read every book within a radius of fifty miles of his home. What books were these? Dr. M. L. Houser, after very careful research, has demonstrated rather conclusively that the books which Lincoln read in this period, that is, between 1820 and 1830, were schoolbooks brought into his county by the few boys who had at-

tended Transylvania College, or perhaps one of the other schools newly opened in Kentucky. Upon examination, it is plain that these textbooks covered quite thoroughly not only elementary subjects, but others more advanced and even profound. There were Grimshaw's *History*, Ferguson's *Astronomy*, Say's *Political Economy*, and Paley's *Moral Philosophy*. And if Lincoln mastered these books, as he almost certainly did, he must be considered a much better educated man than most of his contemporaries in the Middle West.[2]

Many frontier women could read, cipher a little, and write. There were some who had come from cultivated homes and had read good books. But there is abundant testimony to the fact that among the rank and file of them, as well as of the men, there was an amazing indifference to education. William Ellis and Theron Baldwin, early church missionaries in Illinois and active in the founding of Illinois College at Jacksonville, were constantly shocked by the coarseness and ignorance of the frontiersmen and their willingness to have their children grow up without even an elementary education. Mrs. Emily Adams Bancroft whose father became president of the Jacksonville Female Academy in 1836 said that in that year "families were found of four or five adults, not one of whom could read." She added that in the then forty-six counties of the state there was not a female teacher.[3] Young women at an age when our girls are graduating from high school were usually married and the mothers of one or two children.

In the East the girls were not generally included among the pupils in what elementary schools there were

[2] M. L. Houser, *Young Abraham Lincoln and Log College* (Peoria, 1942).

[3] Georgia L. Osborne, "Pioneer Women of Morgan County," *Journal of Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XVIII, no. 1 (April, 1925), 249.

until towards the end of the eighteenth century, and in more advanced schools until the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century. The earliest schools in New England were "dame" schools, corresponding to our nurseries and kindergartens where little children, both boys and girls, whose parents could pay a little, might be sent to learn their A B C's, but not much more. Then came the town schools where boys and, to some extent, girls were given elementary instruction at public expense, but note that as late as 1788 the town of Northampton, Massachusetts, which was, of course, well settled by that time, voted not to be at any expense for the schooling of girls.[4] A common plan of the town schools was two months of schooling for boys in the winter and two months for girls in the summer. It was thought wise not to have children of both sexes in school at the same time.

Nathan Hale, living in New London in 1774, said: "I have kept during the summer, a morning school between the hours of five and seven, of about twenty young ladies; for which I have received twenty shillings a scholar by the quarter." At Newburyport, in 1792, girls attended the "master's school, 'in summer when boys were few,' for an hour and a half after school." In the same town, in 1804, there were established four girls' schools which were open six months of the year "from six to eight in the morning, and on Thursday afternoon." In Haverhill, in 1790, there was provided a school for girls an hour in the morning and afternoon between May and September. In the same year the Reverend Eli Forbes tried to persuade the town of Gloucester to provide some education for girls, "a tender and

[4] Caroline Hazard, *From College Gates* (Boston, 1925), 23.

interesting branch of the community that have been neglected in the public schools of this town."[5] All these, of course, were elementary schools.

In the large cities, following the Revolution and early in the nineteenth century, "adventure" schools were opened by private masters where girls had opportunities beyond those offered in the town schools, special emphasis being placed upon music, dancing, and fancy needlework. But the total number in attendance was small.

During this period came the beginnings of the female seminaries. Perhaps the earliest was the Bethlehem Female Seminary which had been started by Countess Zinzendorf at Germantown, Pennsylvania, in 1742, but which was moved to Bethlehem in 1749.

In Philadelphia, about 1785, John Poor opened an academy for young ladies, giving instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar, composition, rhetoric, and geography. At the first commencement of this school, Benjamin Rush delivered an address which was afterwards printed and circulated and was influential in spreading the gospel of higher education for women. Among other things, Rush said that an American girl should learn to read and spell correctly, to write a fair and legible hand, and to understand figures and bookkeeping, geography, chronology, and biography; she should have some acquaintance with astronomy and natural philosophy and know enough chemistry for domestic and culinary purposes; she should also study vocal music, dancing, poetry, moral essays, and evidences of Christianity.

But the most serious and far-reaching effort to pro-

[5] Woody, *Women's Education*, I: 145.

vide solid education for girls beyond the elementary grades was made in New England. However, this was after Illinois had been admitted to statehood in 1818. The leaders of this movement were: George B. Emerson who, in 1818, opened an academy for girls with a new method of instruction (Mary Lyon was a student at this school); Emma Willard, who founded the famous academy in Troy, New York, in 1821; Zilpah P. Grant, Catherine Beecher, and Mary Lyon.

This is not the place to tell the story of the work of these important educators, but what they did had direct bearing upon the beginnings of higher education for women in Illinois. This is particularly true of Zilpah Grant, Catherine Beecher, and Mary Lyon. The chief importance of Zilpah Grant was her association with Mary Lyon. It was to her female academy, established in 1824 at Derry, New Hampshire, that Mary Lyon went the same year to teach for several summers; and in 1828 when Miss Grant, due to some misunderstanding with the trustees of this academy, removed to Ipswich, Mary Lyon and many of her pupils went with her. Together Zilpah Grant and Mary Lyon worked out plans for Mt. Holyoke Seminary, which was opened in 1837.

Catherine Beecher was the daughter of Lyman Beecher and the sister of Henry Ward Beecher and of Edward Beecher, the latter having the honor of being the first president of Illinois College. In 1823 Catherine Beecher started a small school which, in 1825, became the Hartford Female Seminary with a large enrollment. For a period of twenty to thirty years thereafter, Catherine Beecher, first through her successful school in Hartford and later through her many writings and addresses, exerted a powerful influence in promoting the

higher education of women. In 1833 she went with her father to Cincinnati and there established the Western Female Institute. She had brought with her four teachers from Hartford, including her sister, Mrs. Stowe. Soon she decided to use the Institute as a distributing point for teachers brought from the East to teach in schools in the West.

Miss Beecher discussed this matter with the heads of various schools in the East, among them Mary Lyon. About this time Miss Lyon, in a letter to Catherine Beecher in reply to the latter's request for teachers, wrote:

> Of the need of such an effort no one can doubt, and there are a *great many* women who have the heart to go and labor and suffer in the cause and receive but little earthly reward. But it is something to find them, and when found, still more to complete all needed negotiations.
>
> But my hope is not in women considerably advanced in age, who expect to remain unmarried; it is in young ladies scarcely out of their teens, whose souls are burning for some channel into which they can pour their benevolence, and who will teach two, three, or four years and then marry and become firm pillars to hold up their successors. If we could find teachers, who, unmarried, would devote twenty or thirty years to this work, we would not gain as much as by such a circulating system. . . .
>
> In this view of the case there is a difficulty as to my immediate success in furnishing teachers for your enterprise. For young ladies must not only be willing to go, but must also gain the approbation of father, mother, or perhaps, brother or sister, or sister's husband.
>
> As the enterprise now is, it will be difficult to satisfy *very careful friends*. Just write to me of a particular place by name and that a teacher can have proper assurance of her paying expenses and a salary of say only $100, and I have little doubt that I can send you a good teacher with full consent of friends *as soon as I can find a safe escort*.[6]

To promote interest in her placement service, Cath-

[6] Woody, *Women's Education*, I: 322.

erine Beecher published a book called *American Women, Will You Save Your Country*? She also formed the Boston Ladies Society for Promoting Education at the West. It was her plan:

> First, to have a paid agent in charge of teachers on their journey to the West, their location in schools, and their relief in case of necessity; second, to establish a few institutions for superior education of women in the West, with endowments and coequal teachers, which would continue to train future teachers.[7]

Her plan did not work out very well because among the first group of teachers sent—thirty-three in number—and also the second—thirty-four in number—a large proportion failed to find positions when they arrived in the West.

Miss Beecher made a tour through Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin to find out for herself exactly what was the situation. She, like other New England educators—J. M. Sturtevant, for example—was much distressed over the sectarian strife in this area and considered it the greatest stumbling block in the way of establishing satisfactory schools. As a result of her visits, two seminaries for girls were started: one at Burlington, Iowa, and one at Quincy, Illinois. But, although they prospered for a while, they never really took root and they soon passed from the scene. In Milwaukee she was more successful, helping to establish the Milwaukee Normal Institute and High School in 1848, which later became the Milwaukee Female College and is now Milwaukee-Downer College.

One of the important reasons for the rise of the female seminary was the demand for women teachers of young children. As elementary education spread in Illinois and

[7] Woody, *Women's Education*, I: 323.

in other parts of the Middle West, even though the schools were private or denominational, it was felt by progressive educators that women were peculiarly fitted by nature to instruct the young. It was agreed that if the school was to undertake the education of children, which was formerly cared for in the home, the mother's molding influence might well be extended to the school. But we must remember that the thought of women leaving the home, their allotted sphere, even to become school teachers, was abhorrent to the popular mind because it seemed to threaten the integrity of the home.

However, during the first half of the nineteenth century, the idea that women might be safely educated to the point where they could act as second mothers to children in elementary schools gradually became accepted. Catherine Beecher urged that in every female seminary there should be a normal department. In this department:

> Every young lady should have an opportunity of adding to the advantages of an ordinary course of education all those peculiar advantages which distinguish a normal school from other institutions. Every woman ought to be trained to act as an educator; not only so but no woman should be considered qualified to become head of a family until she has been practically exercised in this her highest professional duty.

One of the most interesting events in the development of education for women in Illinois was the organization on October 4, 1833, at Jacksonville, of the Ladies Association for Educating Females—"indigent females" the first minutes called them. The purpose of this society, according to Article I of the constitution, was "to encourage and assist young ladies to qualify themselves for teachers." The members were to find the girls and provide them with funds to help them prepare to teach.

Teachers of all kinds were very scarce and heretofore all the teaching had been done by men.

Margaret Moore, in her excellent article on the Ladies Education Society, published five years ago, referred to the fact that in 1833 it was not generally agreed that females should teach. Miss Moore quoted President Beecher, of Illinois College, who, about this time, said:

> Formerly young men taught school for $6 a month. Not so now. The great west is open. The young men are engaged in other ways. Then send women, for they are best suited to the work, and Providence seems to be directing the public mind to them.
>
> Another providential indication is that the accustomed employments of females have been stolen away from them by the introduction of machinery. . . . It is observed that a spirit of impatience is manifesting itself among the female ranks. The offices of males are aspired after, and it may be doubted if there be not danger of a civil war or worse. . . . But here is employment for them and that will meet the difficulty.

Miss Moore went on to say that the men's approval of women teachers was won by the argument that, since men no longer cared to work for $6.00 a month, women would be glad to do so. By allowing them to become teachers, it would keep the female from invading the province of the male.[8]

The Ladies Association for Educating Females is still in existence, and is known as the Ladies Education Society. It has helped approximately two thousand girls to get an education. Its work in the early years was particularly important, and it is interesting to note that Catherine Beecher's plan for sending educated girls from the East to be teachers in Illinois was not favored by this society. Their position was that girls who had grown

[8] Margaret K. Moore, "The Ladies' Association for Educating Females, 1833-1937," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXXI, no. 2 (June, 1938), 171-72.

up on the frontier were familiar with the hardships which eastern girls found very trying. To quote Miss Moore again:

> In the first place... they were better able to adapt themselves to the people than were the easterners. And secondly, most of the eastern girls who came out, it seems, had in the back of their educated heads one idea: "Object, matrimony."[9]

Perhaps this last sentiment was prompted by the knowledge that the first principal of the Jacksonville Female Academy, Sarah C. Crocker, who came on the recommendation of Mary Lyon, had remained in her position only two terms and then married Elihu Wolcott, one of the trustees. She was succeeded in 1835 by Miss Emily P. Price, recommended by Miss Zilpah Grant, of Ipswich, Massachusetts. She, in turn, after completing two years as principal, married a Congregational minister, the Reverend Z. K. Hawley. This reminds one of the first four women to graduate at Oberlin, which was the first college to allow coeducation. Two of these women immediately after graduation married two of their classmates, the third married one of the professors, and the fourth married the president.[10]

Many academies were established in Illinois between 1818 and 1848. The legislature of Illinois granted charters to 125 of them by special act rather than by general law during this period. Most of the charters provided that girls, as well as boys, should be educated when sufficient money was at hand.

Most of the academies were founded by religious bodies. From 1836 to 1856 the minutes of the Illinois Annual Conference show that the Methodists of that

[9] *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, June, 1938, pp. 177-78.
[10] *The Independent Woman*, Sept., 1937, p. 273.

conference alone established seminaries or academies at the following places: Quincy, Danville, Wyoming, Georgetown, Parish, Marshall, Springfield, Griggsville, Bloomington, Urbana, Shelbyville, Peoria, Abingdon, Aurora, Fulton, Mt. Carmel, Lebanon, Mt. Vernon, Henry, Olney, Onarga, and Belleville. And, of course, the other denominations also started academies in various towns.

In some cases, public election of the trustees was required. Some charters carried provision for the free education of the poor and also of the Indian. Between the years 1830 and 1860 about forty were chartered with the recommendation that they provide both male and female departments, but none of these, except Hillsboro, so far as I can learn, opened a female department. During the same period twenty-seven seminaries exclusively for girls were established.

The idea of taxing the people of a community for supporting an academy is found in a few of the charters; for example, in the charter for an academy in the town of Winchester, issued in 1841, we read:

> The trustees of the town of Winchester may levy and collect a tax not exceeding one per centum on all taxable property in said town, to be applied to purposes of education, as said trustees shall from time to time direct: *Provided*, That before any tax can be levied as aforesaid, . . . the trustees shall cause an election to be held, . . . and if a majority of two-thirds of the votes given at said election shall be in favor of a tax, then and in that case the trustees may levy a tax and in no other.[11]

It was assumed that tuition would be paid by most pupils in support of their education. In an article on schools, published in the *Sangamo Journal*, April 21, 1838, J. B. Thomas said: "The academies and colleges

[11] *Illinois Laws, 1841*, p. 290.

are to be founded by private enterprise, and supported by individual liberality and munificence. Those who seek the aid of those institutions must necessarily pay in proportion to the benefit received." Nearly all the academies and lower schools, denominational or otherwise, were absorbed into the state public school system when it was established in 1855.

The Jacksonville Female Academy was the first of its kind to open in Illinois and, with the exception of one in Ohio, the first in all the old Northwest Territory. John M. Ellis, a graduate of Dartmouth College, class of 1822, and of Andover Theological Seminary, 1825, and a home missionary representing the Congregational or Presbyterian Church in the Middle West, who had first suggested the establishment of Illinois College, was the one who proposed the organization of the Female Seminary in Jacksonville. This was in 1830, one year after Illinois College was started.

The backers of this enterprise, in addition to John M. Ellis, were Samuel D. Lockwood and Julian M. Sturtevant. These three gentlemen formed a committee, appointed at a preliminary meeting, to draft a plan for the establishment of a seminary for females in Jacksonville. On October 2, 1830, they recommended "that an academy ought to be immediately established. . . . to be devoted to female education and that Jacksonville was a situation highly favorable for the successful operation of such an institution." The recommendation being accepted, a board of trustees was chosen.

The school opened in 1833 in a room on the south side of West State Street about a block from the square. There was one teacher, Miss Sarah C. Crocker, from New Hampshire, who, as I have said, was recommended

by Mary Lyon. The academy was not incorporated until 1835, but for that matter neither were Illinois College, Shurtleff College, or McKendree College, all of which had begun work in 1829. It had taken them six years, and the Female Academy two years, to secure their charters from a reluctant legislature. The academy had an honorable history and remained in existence until 1903 when it united with Illinois College.

A letter written from Illinois by John M. Ellis in 1828 and printed in the *Home Missionary*, appealing for missionaries and telling of his plan to establish a school at Jacksonville, resulted in the formation of the Yale band who, in 1829, came west and founded Illinois College. The members of the Yale band were pious and able men. One of the most competent and consecrated was Theron Baldwin who came to Illinois in the fall of 1829 and helped to get Illinois College started. He did not remain as a member of the faculty, but instead became an agent for the American Home Missionary Society and for many years worked industriously to establish churches and schools and to find financial aid for them.

One night in December, 1834, he stopped at the home of a wealthy man near Alton, by the name of Benjamin Godfrey. Godfrey was a former Cape Cod sea captain, a successful merchant, and a very religious man. The object of Baldwin's visit was to persuade Godfrey to make a substantial gift to Illinois College, but to his surprise Godfrey countered with the statement that, while he wished to spend his fortune philanthropically, he had a different project in mind, namely, a seminary for young women. He said to Baldwin:

> One morning in 1830, while lying in my bed recovering from a severe sickness, my wife came into the room and made some remarks

Illinois Female College, Now MacMurray College, Jacksonville, Ill.

as she left. Our little daughter who had just begun to lisp a few words, caught the remarks, and, while playing by herself on the floor, repeated them over and over for some time. This led me to reflect on the powerful influence of the mother on the minds, manners, habits and character of her children, and I resolved to devote a large part of my possessions to the intellectual and moral improvement of women.

This was the origin of Monticello Seminary at Godfrey, Illinois. Godfrey gave this institution the total sum of $110,000 which was an enormous amount of money for those days in a frontier state. The only condition that Godfrey made was that Baldwin should become the superintendent. No expense was to be spared to make this school one of the best in the country. Baldwin visited and studied various seminaries for women in the East in order that he might become familiar with the latest developments in the higher education of young women. However, he was not at all sure that he wanted to be the responsible head as he already had heavy responsibilities in connection with his missionary work. But Godfrey, although he had already collected material for the building, refused to lay the cornerstone until he had secured Baldwin's consent. In the end, Baldwin gave in, and in January, 1836, he promised Captain Godfrey that he would "preach, lecture on moral subjects and exercise general superintendence of the seminary."[12]

Monticello celebrated its centennial in 1936. It has made an honorable record in the education of women and is now prospering as a junior college.

Both this seminary, or academy, and the Jacksonville Female Academy which soon was housed in a substantial building of its own on property donated by Dr.

[12] Norma Adams, "Theron Baldwin," Monticello College *Bulletin*, July, 1939.

Ero Chandler just south of the present Grace Methodist Church, were organized quite largely on the plan of Mt. Holyoke Seminary, except that the girls did not do all the household work as was true at Mary Lyon's institution. They did their own washing and ironing, took care of their own rooms and perhaps helped in the dining room, but it is quite clear that they were kept out of the kitchen and did no scrubbing.

Rockford Female Seminary and the Illinois Conference Female Academy, of Jacksonville, were established about the same time. Rockford was established as the result of a decision to organize a female seminary by the Congregational Churches of the Northwest at a meeting held in Cleveland, Ohio, in June, 1844. Rockford was selected as the location. While a charter was secured in 1847, the seminary did not get started until September, 1850. In the meantime, a girls' school was opened in 1849 with about seventy pupils, mostly under ten years of age. In 1851 this seminary, of which the principal was Anna P. Sill, was recognized as the preparatory department of the Rockford Female Seminary. Miss Sill was made principal of the combined school and remained in this position until 1884. The seminary made good progress, and in 1854 a collegiate course was established. On September 22, 1892, the name of the institution was changed to Rockford College.

The story of the founding of another college for women in Illinois should be told at this point. While it has had little mention in educational history, it played an important part in the early efforts to secure higher education for women and still lives as an integral part of, and accounts for the large proportion of women in, one of our great universities. It was the Northern

Female College which opened in Evanston in the fall of 1855 and was the property of two brothers by the name of Jones, sons of a Methodist preacher, who had a conviction that there ought to be a real college for women in the Middle West. The younger of the brothers, William P. Jones, was a graduate of Allegheny College and had been principal of the Peoria Female Academy. The older brother, J. Wesley Jones, a graduate of McKendree College, had made considerable money in the California gold rush, and was the owner of an investment business in Brooklyn. Together they determined to establish a college for women equivalent in rank, as they said; to Yale or Harvard. After visiting a number of eastern colleges, they built with J. Wesley's money an imposing four-story building and had it ready for occupancy in September, 1855.

It happened that Northwestern University was opened at practically the same time. The cornerstones of the first buildings of both of these institutions were laid on the same day, June 15, 1855, by Bishop Matthew Simpson, of the Methodist Church. At the beginning the female college had smoother sailing than Northwestern University. The first year it had eighty-four students, while Northwestern had only ten. In those first days Northwestern had great financial difficulties, being obliged to sell $100 scholarships covering "not only the purchaser's tuition, but also that of the oldest succeeding sons for generations, and often had to give its early professors building lots when the treasurer could not pay salaries."

The feeling of the Northwestern University group toward this school for females—which had also taken the name Northwestern—was hostile, because the latter

school had more students enrolled and was really more prosperous. The Jones brothers had the backing of some substantial citizens, particularly in Chicago, including John L. Scripps, editor of the Chicago *Tribune*. During the remaining sixteen years of the existence of the Northwestern Female College, it flourished, its president through all this period being William P. Jones who, from all accounts, must have been a very able and consecrated man.

Finally, in 1872, coeducation having by that time become not only respectable but popular, friends of the two institutions persuaded President Jones to allow his college to become the female department of Northwestern, with Frances E. Willard, of the class of 1859, its most distinguished alumna, as its new president. Willard Hall, as the female college building came to be known, still stands, and at the present time houses the School of Music of Northwestern University.[13]

For twenty years, beginning in 1864, there were three female academies in Jacksonville: the Jacksonville Female Academy, the Illinois Conference Female Seminary, and the Atheneum.

The Atheneum's life was short, but it has some interest even apart from the fact that it was located in Jacksonville and should receive consideration in this paper. It was a private enterprise. The founder was William D. Sanders who for several years had been a professor at Illinois College. He was a man of intelligence and energy and an orator of considerable ability. From the standpoint of educational policy, his catalogs are the most interesting to read of any that I have examined.

[13] Dwight F. Clarke, "A Forgotten Evanston Institution: The Northwestern Female College," *Jour. Ill. State Historical Soc.*, Vol. XXXV, no. 2 (June, 1942), 130.

The Atheneum was a new thing under the sun. Its organization and its methods were out of the ordinary. (1) To begin with, it was nonsectarian. Sectarianism, Dr. Sanders held, was the curse of education. The act of incorporation provided that of its twenty-one trustees not more than three should ever be members of the same religious denomination. (2) It was not a boarding school. It had no dormitory. Dr. Sanders likened dormitories for women to nunneries and he thought them the root of many kinds of evil. "The family being the nursery and sanctuary of womanly excellence," the Atheneum located its pupils "in carefully selected families." Dr. Sanders announced in one of his catalogs that if he should be offered a dormitory made of marble he would refuse it. He predicted that the dormitory and commons system which had prevailed so long in colleges would soon pass away. (3) He said:

> The Atheneum prescribes no arbitrary and inflexible course of study. While it offers all the studies required in Yale or Harvard College, it does not force the pupil to attempt the mastery of studies which she may have neither the talent, the time or the strength to master. It classifies on a new system. It requires no technical classes for recitation purposes. It puts together in each study those who are together and who in that study can keep together. . . the time required to complete any course of study will depend entirely upon the pupil herself. The aim is an actual education and not a sham, an absolute mastery of each topic and not a mere going over it in a given time.[14]

A student's stay in college might be short or long. She could take courses over as many times as necessary in order to pass the examinations which were very rigid. Examinations were not compulsory, but the number of examinations passed was the measure of a student's progress. How well Dr. Sanders carried out this pro-

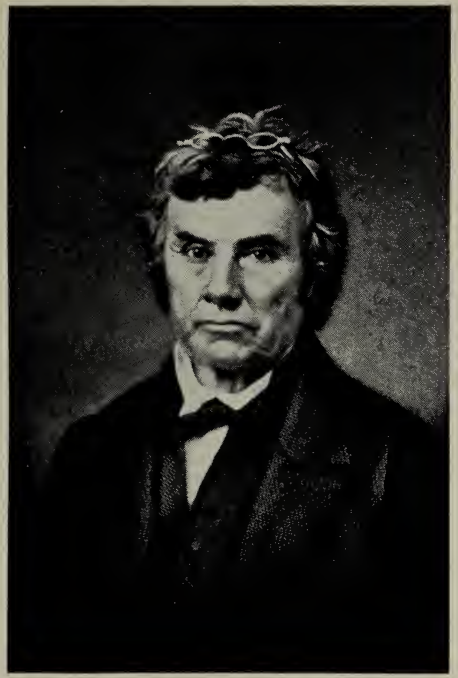
[14] These or similar statements are to be found in every catalog of the Atheneum.

gram there is no way of knowing. That such a plan could be literally followed with any great success is open to grave doubts.

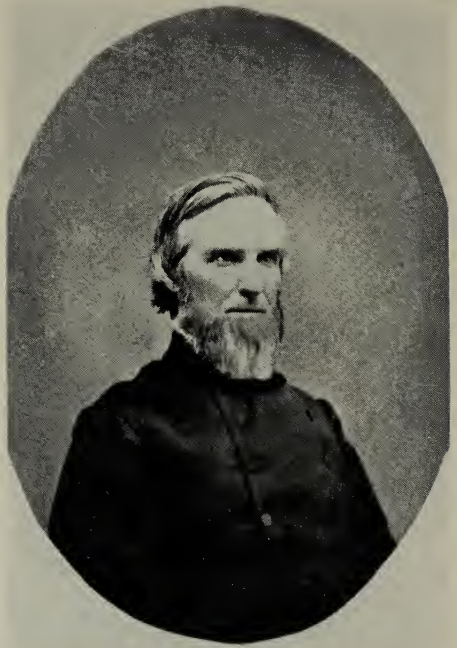
And now, turning backward to the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, let us examine the beginnings of MacMurray College, or, as it was first called, the Illinois Conference Female Seminary. This was a purely Methodist undertaking. In 1842 the Methodists had opened a female college in Cincinnati, which made good progress from the start in spite of the fact that there were at least a dozen other female academies in that city. When news of this successful school reached the Methodist ministers of Illinois, they concluded that they should no longer postpone the establishment of a seminary for girls within the bounds of their own annual conference. They had been thinking of such a project for several years, but the late Thirties had brought a nationwide depression; there had been practically no money in circulation in Illinois, and the conference had felt that it must give its undivided support to McKendree College which had been opened in 1828 and was having a hard struggle for existence.

However, at the session of the Illinois Annual Conference in Quincy, in September, 1843, a "committee was appointed, including Peter Cartwright and Peter Akers, to consider the possibility of establishing an academy for the education of females to report the following year." At the annual conference of 1844 this committee was not ready to report and was continued for another year. In 1845, however, at the annual conference held in Springfield, it was voted unanimously to establish the proposed academy for women.

Peter Akers wanted the seminary located at Ebenezer



The Rev. Peter Cartwright,
First President of the Board
of Trustees of Illinois Female
Academy, Now MacMurray
College



The Rev. James F. Jaquess,
First President of the Illinois
Conference Female Academy,
Now MacMurray College

to take the place of the Ebenezer Manual Training School which had been established in 1836 and of which he had been the organizer and first president. This school had a large patronage for that time. Its course of study included mathematics, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Among its students were a number who later became distinguished in the ministry of the Methodist Church. Thus, it was often said that the Ebenezer School was the first Methodist theological seminary, but by 1843 it had become only a local subscription school.

Peter Cartwright did not approve of Ebenezer as a location for the new female seminary. He favored Jacksonville. The original resolution proposed that the seminary be located at Ebenezer, but the suggested location was stricken out on motion of W. D. R. Trotter, Cartwright's son-in-law. Then Cartwright moved that the decision as to the location be postponed until the next session of the conference. In the meantime, the Jacksonville Methodists, at least a majority of them, had become enthusiastic over the enterprise and sent a strong delegation to the conference when it met in 1846 at Paris, Illinois, to secure the seminary for Jacksonville.

It is not to be supposed that all the leading citizens of Jacksonville wanted this new seminary. Although Jacksonville was both a large and cultured community, there was a group of prominent men who felt that another denominational school would be one too many to support and would hinder the development of the Jacksonville Female Academy and, indeed, Illinois College, both of which were having great difficulty in keeping soul and body together.

The following letter was addressed to Peter Akers, at Paris:

JACKSONVILLE,
Sept. 21, 1846

BROTHER AKERS:

Since you went to conference, the friends of the Jacksonville Female Academy have held a meeting, and I take the liberty of apprising you of the state of public sentiment at this time. This matter of establishing a Conference Female Academy is raising a great breeze; and our people feel very much exasperated at the course of the anti-Methodist party.

As far as I can learn, most of our people, excited by the impulse of the moment, are anxious for the Conference to establish a rival Female Academy in this place; but those men to whom we would look for the greatest pecuniary aid in carrying it forward, think it impolitic, and fear it would not be sustained.

This much is certain, the anti-Methodist party are intending to make a powerful effort to sustain their school; and unless our Conference is prepared and determined to make a long and vigorous effort to sustain the new Academy, I do not believe it would be good policy to locate it at this place. It is certain that two such schools could not survive, perhaps both would die; and I am sure that with the foot-hold the anti-Methodists have got, many years would elapse before they would give up.[15]

At this meeting of the conference, Akers apparently had been won over to Jacksonville, because he himself moved that Jacksonville should be the place "for our Conference Female Academy." The conference passed the motion and elected the following trustees: Peter Cartwright, Peter Akers, W. D. R. Trotter, William Thomas, William Brown, Nicholas Milburn, Matthew Stacy, Joseph Capps, and William C. Stribling.

The minutes of this annual conference also record:

Another committee of three, called a Conference Committee, Peter Akers, Wm. J. Rutledge, and J. C. Pinckard, are hereby appointed to receive proposals for, and to select the particular site for, the said Female Academy in Jacksonville; to prepare and circulate subscriptions for the purchase of suitable grounds, and the erection of suitable buildings; and to do any and everything for the

[15] Quoted in Joseph R. Harker, "A History of Illinois Woman's College" (MS), 127-28.

establishment and prosperity of this part of our educational enterprise. But in all cases, without involving the Conference in pecuniary liabilities beyond what each member may bind himself to give.

"Thus," to quote the words of President Harker, "by the end of September, 1846 (Sept. 23, 1846) the long period of preparation and pioneering was ended; and the Illinois Conference Female Academy was officially established and located at Jacksonville."[16]

From the start the seminary was a success. The first president was James F. Jaquess, an eloquent preacher, a man of great energy and practical sagacity, who, during the Civil War, raised a regiment for the Union forces, was commissioned its colonel, and became an intimate friend of Abraham Lincoln. He remained president for seven years. The enrollments during his administration, not including students in music and other "ornamental branches," were as follows:

1848-1849	117
1849-1850	168
1850-1851	199
1851-1852	216
1852-1853	233
1853-1854	255
1854-1855	282

What studies were offered in the early Illinois female academies or seminaries? One is surprised, I think, upon examination of their curricula to find practically no "frills." The subjects for the most part are what we would call "solid."

Dr. Thomas Woody has prepared a table showing the percentage of female academies and seminaries which offered thirty-six main studies between 1830 and 1871.

[16] Harker, "Illinois Woman's College," 134.

The curricula of 107 of these institutions were studied for this purpose. The ten subjects which were offered in nearly all of them were, in the order of their frequency: natural philosophy, chemistry, rhetoric, astronomy, English grammar, mental philosophy, algebra, botany, moral philosophy, and plane geometry.

Mt. Holyoke, which opened in 1837, had three classes: juniors, middlers, and seniors, as they were called. The list of studies was as follows:

STUDIES OF THE JUNIOR CLASS

English Grammar, Ancient Geography, Ancient and Modern History, Sullivan's Political Class Book, Botany, Newman's Rhetoric, Euclid, Human Physiology.

STUDIES OF THE MIDDLE CLASS

English Grammar continued, Algebra, Botany continued, Natural Philosophy, Smellie's Philosophy of Natural History, Intellectual Philosophy.

STUDIES OF THE SENIOR CLASS

Chemistry, Astronomy, Geology, Ecclesiastical History, Evidences of Christianity, Whately's Logic, Whately's Rhetoric, Moral Philosophy, Natural Theology, Butler's Analogy.[17]

I do not have the earliest catalog of Monticello, but, in a historical sketch of that college, Dr. Norma Adams lists the following subjects as having been taught in the the early years: plane and applied geometry, algebra, trigonometry, botany, geology, astronomy, English literature, rhetoric and literary criticism, ethics, and mental philosophy.

At the Jacksonville Female Academy the students were classified as at Mt. Holyoke into juniors, middlers, and seniors. The following are the studies listed in the catalog of 1845-1846:

[17] Beth B. Gilchrist, *The Life of Mary Lyon* (Boston, 1910), 437-38.

JUNIOR CLASS

Arithmetic, U. S. History, Grammar, Greek History, History of Rome and England, Ancient Geography, Watts on the Mind, Botany.

MIDDLE CLASS

History of France, Algebra, Natural History, Natural Philosophy, Ecclesiastical History, Chemistry, Anatomy and Physiology, Rhetoric, Miss Beecher's Domestic Economy.

SENIOR CLASS

Geometry and Trigonometry, Natural Theology, Abercrombie on the Intellectual Powers, Astronomy, Moral Feelings, Elements of Criticism and Analysis of English Poets, Universal Self-Knowledge, Evidences of Christianity, Reading, Writing, Spelling, Composition and Logic throughout the course.

The first catalog of the Illinois Conference Female Academy, which was printed in 1849, lists the following subjects:

FIRST YEAR

Latin—Anthon's 1st Lessons and Caesar, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Ancient Geography, Philosophy of Natural History, Mineralogy and Geology, Botany, Physiology.

JUNIOR YEAR

Latin—Cicero, Virgil, Prosody, Algebra, Arithemetic reviewed, Domestic Economy, Geometry, Butler's Analogy, Parker's Aids to English Composition.

SENIOR YEAR

Mental Philosophy, Astronomy, Natural Theology, Evidences of Christianity, Ancient and Modern History with Chronology, Rhetoric, Logic, Criticism, Moral Science, Cleveland's Compendium of English Literature.

Particular attention will be paid to Reading, Penmanship and Composition through the entire course.

It is interesting to compare the curricula of these female academies with the curriculum of Illinois College. The following is the course of instruction for the collegiate department as printed in the first catalog

issued by Illinois College which was for the year 1833-1834:

FRESHMAN CLASS

Livy, Adams' Roman Antiquities, Day's Algebra, Graeca Majora, Playfair's Euclid.

SOPHOMORE CLASS

Horace, Graeca Majora, Euclid, Plane Trigonometry, Logarithms, Isoperimetry, Navigation and Surveying, Cicero de Officiis.

JUNIOR CLASS

Cicero de Oratore, Graeca Majora, 2nd Vol.—Homer, Natural Philosophy, Spherical Geometry and Trigonometry, Tacitus, Astronomy, Compendium of History, Ancient and Modern.

SENIOR CLASS

Rhetoric, Logic, Paley's Natural Theology, Intellectual Philosophy, Fluxions, Moral Philosophy, Evidences of Christianity, Butler's Analogy, Greek and Latin, Say's Political Economy, Federal Constitution.

The chief difference between the curriculum of Illinois College and the curricula of the female academies seems to have been that at Illinois College, Latin began in the freshman class with Livy, a more advanced point, and that Greek was also taught. The other subjects were similar to those taught in the academies. Mathematics went as far as spherical geometry and trigonometry, given in the junior year, and Latin seems to have been finished in the junior year with Tacitus. The other courses were natural philosophy, astronomy, compendium of history, intellectual philosophy, moral philosophy, evidences of Christianity, and Graeca Majora. However, I think it should be added that the faculty of Illinois College, consisting of President Beecher, Julian Sturtevant, Truman Post, and J. B. Turner, were exceptionally able teachers and undoubtedly their work was more thorough.

COURSE OF STUDY.

PREPARATORY DEPARTMENT.

Pupils in this department finish Ray's or Davies' Arithmetic, Part III; English Grammar, Descriptive Geography, and have daily instruction and practice in Reading, Spelling, Penmanship, etc.

COLLEGIATE DEPARTMENT.

CLASSICAL COURSE.

FRESHMAN YEAR.

Analysis.
Arithmetic.
History United States—Goodrich's.
Latin Grammar and French.

Analysis of English Poetry.
Arithmetic (finished).
Algebra (commenced).
English Composition.
Latin Reader and French.

SOPHOMORE YEAR.

Algebra (commenced).
Physiology—Cutter's.
History of Greece, with Mythology—Goodrich's.
Physical Geography—Warren's.
Cæsar, and French or German

Algebra (finished).
Natural History.
History of Rome, with Ancient Geography—Goodrich's.
Rhetoric.
Cicero, and French or German.

JUNIOR YEAR.

Geometry.
Political Economy.
History of England—Goodrich's.
Natural Philosophy.
Cicero, and Greek or German.

Geometry and Trigonometry.
Botany—Wood's.
History of France—Goodrich's.
Chemistry
Virgil, and Greek or German.

SENIOR YEAR.

Evidences of Christianity—Alexander's.
Mental Philosophy—Haven's.
Logic.
Astronomy—Burritt's.

English Literature—Shaw's.
Moral Philosophy—Haven's.
Butler's Analogy.
Geology—Dana's.

Course of Study From an Early Catalog of Illinois Female College, Now MacMurray College, Jacksonville, Ill.

Two other girls' schools in Illinois have survived the great growth of coeducation and of the public schools, the teachers colleges, and the state university: Frances Shimer, organized just about the time the public school system was established, and Ferry Hall, established in 1869. Both of these were private schools. Ferry Hall still is. Frances Shimer until 1896 belonged to Mrs. Shimer, but, in that year, was incorporated as the Frances Shimer Academy of the University of Chicago under a board of trustees. It now bears some relation to the Baptist Church and to the University of Chicago.

Of the six female academies which antedate the establishment of the public school system in Illinois, one became the women's department of Northwestern University; another, the Jacksonville Female Academy, merged with Illinois College in 1903; the remaining four—Monticello, Rockford, Frances Shimer, and MacMurray—have continued without a break, and today are not only much stronger in every respect than ever before, but rank among the best colleges of any kind in the state or in the Middle West.

Why is it that these colleges have had sufficient vitality to endure and are at present filled to capacity? The answer is to be found in the fact that they in common with other women's colleges offer certain advantages that are not to be found in coeducational institutions.

1. In women's colleges women stand on their own feet. They are judged as individuals rather than as women. They set their own standards, while in coeducational colleges their standards are largely fixed by the men. That this is a distinct advantage and is preferred by many women can hardly be denied.

2. Success in one form or another is desired and sought after by all college students. The criterion of success in a woman's college is determined by qualities of leadership and service rather than by mere feminine charm. It is quite likely that serious intellectual activity on the part of women has a better chance in a woman's college. The following comment made by President Charles R. Van Hise, of the University of Wisconsin, as long ago as 1907, is still pertinent:

> With the increase in numbers of men and women in coeducational institutions with no very serious purpose, there is undoubtedly a tendency among the women to regard as successful the one who is attractive to the young men—in other words, social availability rather than intellectual leadership is regarded by at least a considerable number of the young women as the basis of a successful college career.[18]

It might well be added that the competition among the particularly attractive young women for the favor of the particularly attractive young men in a coeducational college is frequently demoralizing in its effect.

3. In a woman's college it is possible to intensify certain elements in the curriculum which have to do with the chief interests in a woman's life. It is not a question of whether women are capable of the same kind of intellectual effort as men. That question was settled affirmatively years ago. It is rather a matter of equipping women to deal intelligently and efficiently with certain problems which are bound to be prominent all through their lives and with which men are not so vitally concerned.

4. Sorority housing is economical from the standpoint of college administration, but it has its disadvantages and with these the women's colleges have

[18] *Educational Review*, Dec., 1907, pp. 514-15.

never had to contend. Those who know women's colleges intimately are convinced that their students develop wider college interests and greater responsibility to the entire college community by living in relatively large residence halls and perhaps eating in a common dining hall than by living with small sorority groups with much more limited responsibility.

5. A sense of unity is characteristic of a woman's college, growing out of their housing and other living conditions, which is an asset in making right conduct and religion implicit in the corporate life of a college.

One of the greatest values of higher education in America lies in the fact that there are coeducational colleges, and colleges for men and for women, that of each kind there are those that are small and those that are large, those that are public and those that are private. Each is making an important contribution to the total educational effort of the country. Conformity to type would mean an irreparable loss both to education and to democracy.

HISTORICAL NOTES

CORRECTION

In the *Journal* for June, 1943, pp. 208-10, we published, under the title, "To Illinois in 1811," a short travel diary attributed to "an unidentified traveler from Pennsylvania." Mr. Everett D. Graff of Winnetka, Illinois, owner of the manuscript, writes to say that he believes the diary was written by Robert McKnight. Mr. Graff states that he acquired the diary with other McKnight material, and that the handwriting appears to be the same as the handwriting of McKnight letters in his possession.

Robert McKnight was born in Virginia in 1789. As a young man he settled in St. Louis. There he was attracted by the profits of the Santa Fé trade. In 1812 he and nine others set out for Sante Fé on a trading expedition. However, upon reaching their destination they were seized as spies and their goods confiscated. McKnight was imprisoned for nine years. Three years after his release he renounced his American citizenship—he bitterly resented his government's failure to procure his release from prison—and returned to Mexico, where he made a fortune in copper mining. He died in 1846.

PAUL M. ANGLE.

DIPLOMATIC DOCUMENTS SAVED

In the article, "Lincoln's Offer of a Command to Garibaldi," by Howard R. Marraro, which appeared in the September, 1943, number of the *Journal*, certain documents were cited as being in the American Embassy at Rome or the American Consulate at Genoa. Dr. Solon J. Buck, Archivist of the United States, calls our attention to the fact that these documents are now, and have been for some time, in the National Archives. Dr. Buck adds: "It is the State Department rather than the National Archives that is entitled to credit for the fact that the records of foreign service posts in Italy and many other parts of the world, insofar as they were non-

current, were brought back to this country some years ago and are now safe in the National Archives, instead of being subjected to the dangers of destruction."

PAUL M. ANGLE.

ILLINOIS JOURNALISTS AND LOCAL HISTORY

Illinois newspaper men who write regularly or occasionally on subjects of local or state-wide interest have done much to stimulate the study of history. Many editors and reporters have also been active in the formation of local historical societies and in maintaining interest in these organizations.

For many years newspaper publishers have recognized the value of items which deal with uncommon events of the past, and many papers have had their antiquarians who wrote entertainingly on genealogy, pioneer customs, military and political developments, architecture and historic sites, among other subjects. Larger city dailies frequently fill Sunday magazine or feature sections with historical articles. Improved photographic and engraving processes have enabled editors to illustrate these articles effectively.

Among the most prolific of historical writers today is John Drury of the *Chicago Daily News*. Mr. Drury on March 17, 1939, began a series of illustrated articles on old Chicago houses. One ran each week until one hundred had been printed. In June, 1941, these articles were published in a book, *Old Chicago Houses*, by the University of Chicago Press.

With the completion of the series on old Chicago houses, Mr. Drury began a new weekly series under the title of "Old Illinois Houses." To obtain material for these articles, Mr. Drury made three tours which took him to northern, central, and southern Illinois. Accompanied by Mrs. Drury and his Irish terrier, "Fidelma the Ruddy," Mr. Drury visited practically every county in the state. This series, which was started in February, 1941, was completed in March, 1943, and here, too, the total was one hundred houses. Plans are being made to bring out this material in book form.

In March, 1943, Mr. Drury started two new weekly illustrated series, "Historic Chicago Sites," and "Chicago's Little Streets." The first named runs on Thursday and the second on Friday of each week.

"John Drury loves Chicago very much," wrote Carl Sandburg in a newspaper column. "It is neither an ethereal nor an ephemeral love that John has for the Windy City. John walks, rides and flies over it. He eats and sleeps anywhere in it. A thousand cops know him. So do all the reporters, and he never gets into trouble."

Mr. Drury was born in Chicago forty-five years ago, and has worked as reporter and feature writer on the *Chicago Daily News* since 1926. He served in the Illinois Reserve Militia during the first World War, attends the Institute of Military Studies at the University of Chicago, lives in an apartment in the old Hyde Park section, and owns a ten-acre country place in nearby Indiana.

In addition to *Old Chicago Houses*, Drury has included some historical data in his four other books: *Arclight Dusks* (verse), 1925; *Chicago in Seven Days*, 1928; *Dining in Chicago*, 1931; and *Guide to Chicago*, 1933.

Chicago history receives unique presentation in the column, "When Chicago Was Young," written by Miss Herma Clark, which has been printed in the *Chicago Sunday Tribune* since September 15, 1929. Facts are included in letters written by one fictitious person to another. The supposed writer of the letters is Martha Freeman Esmond (Mrs. William Esmond) who corresponds with "Dear Julia" (Julia Boyd of New York, an old school friend), telling her of actual happenings of the time in Chicago.

The first letter was dated 1854 and Miss Clark's relator (then "Martha Freeman") was a girl of eighteen, newly come to Chicago with her parents and living in that "quiet residential section," Wabash Avenue, near Madison Street. As the letters continue, the slight thread of the story unwinds and Martha meets a young legal aspirant, William Esmond, who is reading law in her father's office. They are married in 1859 and go on a wedding tour, which includes a visit to Niagara Falls.

Martha sees Abraham Lincoln nominated in the Wigwam; is stricken by the news that Fort Sumter has been fired on; sees her husband go to fight in the Union Army; receives him back, grateful that he is only slightly lamed by a battle wound. They pass through the fire of 1871, losing all their worldly goods, like many others, but retaining courage to rebuild their own and the city's fortunes. Their one child, Martha, Jr., is married to a Rush Medical College graduate, Dr. Alexander ("Sandy") MacLeod (fictitious, too, of

course), which brings into the story names of many famous medical men of Chicago.

Miss Clark's background has peculiarly fitted her for her work. She was for many years companion and secretary to Mrs. William Blair, wife of a pioneer hardware dealer of Chicago. Mrs. Blair came as a bride to Chicago in 1854 and her friends were among the builders of the city. In her home, Miss Clark met people who had come early to Chicago and thus she obtained a perspective which enabled her to write convincingly of scenes and developments of the early day. Among these friends of Mrs. Blair were such women as Mrs. Charles B. Farwell, wife of the United States senator; Mrs. Potter Palmer; and Mrs. Norman B. Judd, whose husband presented the name of Lincoln to the 1860 Republican national convention.

"I find material in files of old Chicago newspapers; in old magazines and books; in talks with descendants of pioneers and in diaries and letters," wrote Miss Clark in a statement to the Illinois State Historical Society.

Part of Miss Clark's material has been put in book form in two volumes, *Dear Julia* (letters dated from 1854 to 1879), published in 1933 by the Walter D. Bauman Co., and *The Elegant Eighties* (1941), published by A. C. McClurg and Co., Chicago, with a foreword by John T. McCutcheon, the *Tribune's* famous cartoonist.

Invitations to lecture have come to Miss Clark and she has made numerous appearances before clubs and other organizations. She usually speaks once a year at the Art Institute in Chicago. Included in her lecture titles are: "Dear Julia," "The Elegant Eighties," "Adventures of a Columnist," "The Notable Nineties," and "G. P. A. Healy and the People He Painted."

For the last four years, Miss Clark's entertainments have been in the form of monologues, based on life downstate rather than in Chicago. Her characters for these sketches are drawn from her native Princeton, in Bureau County. Titles of these programs are: "Bustles and Bangs," "Albums and Antimacassars," and "Farm and Fireside." With Alice Gerstenberg, Miss Clark wrote a drama of Chicago entitled "When Chicago Was Young," which was presented at the Goodman Theater for three weeks in 1933. This play has been rewritten under the title, "Port of Chicago."

In collaboration with Marie G. Merrill, Miss Clark has written a play entitled "Bustles and Bangs," woven around events of the

Eighties and based on Miss Clark's monologues. A scene from this play, called "The Browning Circle Meets," was presented at the Writers' Conference at Chicago in April, 1943. Similarly a one-act play for women entitled, "Shall Women Vote?" was written by the collaborators.

C. C. Tisler, a member of the editorial staff of the *Republican-Times* at Ottawa, has been doing an interesting job of historical reporting since 1930, writing under the column heading, "Ramblin' Round." His material, which is illustrated, runs usually on Tuesday and Friday of each week.

La Salle County and the city of Ottawa are rich in historical background, and a reporter of Mr. Tisler's talents finds no difficulty in gleaning facts which entertain and instruct readers of his newspaper. He is able to draw from the dramatic story of the occupation of the Starved Rock region by the French. Here was one of the principal villages of the confederacy of Illinois Indians. Here at the first Fort Saint Louis, La Salle, Tonti and others sought to maintain the empire of New France. Ottawa was the scene of the first of seven debates between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas in 1858. La Salle County sent two generals to the Civil War, Thomas E. G. Ransom and W. H. L. Wallace, both of whom died in service. Here lived the Claflin sisters, Victoria and Tennessee; Judges John Dean Caton and T. Lyle Dickey; and others who contributed largely to the history of Illinois. Ottawa was close to scenes of activity in the Black Hawk War. Of these and other developments Mr. Tisler has written in "Ramblin' Round" and he has preserved much local history for posterity.

Mr. Tisler in 1940 published a small book, *Lincoln's In Town*, presenting facts on the 1858 debate and other local history.

Chronicles of Aurora and the Fox River Valley are presented in the Sunday edition of the *Aurora Beacon-News* under the heading, "Now and Then." Charles Pierce Burton has been the compiler and editor since June, 1935. For a decade previous to that time the column was conducted by the late Lewis ("Lutz") White. Included in "Now and Then" are recollections of pioneer residents, letters, and compositions of Mr. Burton. Occasionally an article is contributed by Stanley K. Faye of Aurora, a newspaper man who is especially strong on Indian lore and the French and Spanish occupations of the Mississippi Valley.

George E. Johnson, former president of the Peoria Historical Society, and editor of the *Peoria Daily Record*, makes an interesting contribution to local history in his daily column, "Peoriana." Mr. Johnson selects a corresponding month and day in any year and rewrites the story of news events which he gathers through long and patient search of old newspapers. Recently he discovered in a Peoria paper the text of a letter of President Lincoln to Peter Sweat, a Peoria Democrat, offering the latter a major general's commission. The owner of the letter is unknown. It is not mentioned in standard Lincoln works.

Don Russell, a member of the editorial staff of the *Chicago Daily News*, writes on historical subjects regularly. His column appears on the editorial page of the *News*, usually on Saturday. Mr. Russell has contributed to publications of the Illinois State Historical Society. He is the author of "Illinois Monuments of Civil War Battlefields," which appeared in *Papers in Illinois History, 1941*, recently published by the Society.

A picture of a historic building or scene with descriptive material occasionally is used in a page-one feature, "I See By the Papers," which appears in the *Joliet Herald-News*. Jack Thorne, the writer, includes some gossipy local biographical material.

George Wickstrom, of the *Rock Island Argus*, conducts a column, "The Town Crier," in which a wide range of subjects is covered, including local history.

The *Centralia Evening Sentinel* recently used, on consecutive days, twenty-six biographical features under the heading, "Album of Centralia Mayors." Type was boxed. A picture of the mayor accompanied each story.

Myron F. Henkel, editorial writer on the *Illinois State Register*, Springfield, presents daily an interesting pictorial feature which runs under the caption, "The Family Album." Two, three, and four column cuts are used to show scenes of early Springfield. Adequate outlines give information on the subject. In more than four years of editing "The Family Album," Mr. Henkel has received numerous uncommon photographs from private collections as well as from collections of the Illinois State Historical Library. Persons and events in the activities of the state government are among those pictured.

Happenings of other years, on the corresponding month and day, are edited by John E. Vaughn under the caption, "Recalled to Life,"

in the *Illinois State Journal*, Springfield.

A score of papers print concisely events of the past under standing heads such as "Ten Years Ago," or "Twenty-five Years Ago." The *Alton Telegraph* recalls events of fifty years. Numerous centennial celebrations in counties and cities in recent years have brought from cover many pictures of the early day, and these were largely used by local newspapers, frequently in special editions published to mark the anniversary.

ERNEST E. EAST.

PEORIA, ILL.

ILLINOIS IN SONG

Recently the Illinois State Historical Library received a request for a list of songs with the word Illinois in their titles—as representative of this state as, for example "Beautiful Ohio" and "The Missouri Waltz" are representative of our neighbors. The staff could think only of the official state song and one or two University of Illinois songs, so an appeal was made to an expert—David V. Felts of the *Decatur Herald*. Mr. Felts's reply follows:

THE HERALD
DECATUR, ILLINOIS
September 27, 1943.

Mr. Paul M. Angle
Springfield, Illinois
DEAR SIR:

I was flattered by your recent query regarding songs about Illinois, and I resolved to do an essay on the subject for you, the which I did during a leisure hour last Saturday afternoon.

If you have the leisure, I hope you read that essay—the rough, original draft which I insert right here—before you go on with the story.

"In the bright lexicon of Tin Pan Alley there is no such word as Illinois.

"The songsmiths yearn to return to forty-seven states in the Union, but never to Illinois. Almost a score of years ago a wanderer far from home 'wisht' he 'wuz in Peoria,' but he didn't mention the state, possibly because there is only one Peoria.

"Chicago has been celebrated in popular minstrelsy as 'That Toddling Town,' but there is no reference to Illinois because there is only one Chicago and the Illinois is superfluous.

"Except for the official state song, 'By Thy Rivers Gently Flowing, Illinois;' college songs heard on the campus at Champaign-Urbana or Jacksonville; and parodies sung by Illinois men in army camps or in California reunions of Illini emeriti, there is, to my knowledge, no song of general acceptance, either old or new, which mentions Illinois in title or in refrain.

"I have been listening to phonograph records for thirty years, to radio programs since the Coolidge administration. Since 1923 I have been writing newspaper columns, and in the role of social historian have attempted to keep informed on the minor arts. On the reference shelf of my modest working library, alongside the *World Almanac*, the *Thesaurus*, dictionaries and quotation books, you'll find phonograph record catalogs and a collection of periodicals which offer the lyrics of songs popular at the moment.

"I recall no song which mentions Illinois, and several friends with whom I have been happy to harmonize at all hours under proper stimulus and protection, concur in my memory.

"Illinois is bounded by popular songs. Indiana and Kentucky are two of the commonwealths most frequently yearned for, and the two are drenched with moonlight and populated almost entirely by patiently waiting sweethearts and anxious mothers. The western boundary of Illinois is 'Ol' Man River,' a modern classic. The southern end of the state is washed by 'Beautiful Ohio,' into which empties the moonlit Wabash.

"Illinois has her fair share of loving mothers and lovely girls. The moon shines on Illinois with such consistency that a lunar eclipse keeps Illinoisans up beyond their bedtime to observe the phenomenon. The sons and daughters of Illinois go to far places and undoubtedly become homesick and yearn for the old home state. But they don't write songs about it. The chance is that most of them are provident enough to buy a ticket home whereas the natives of Alabama, Kentucky, and even Indiana cannot afford a ticket and must be content with a tear and a baritone lament.

"I have run through the indices of a number of popular song lyric collections and noted the songs which celebrate our sister states. Here are a few titles:

"From *400 Songs to Remember*, September, 1940: Alabama Bound, Alabama Jubilee, Bam Bam Bammy Shore, California, Carolina in the Morning, Cryin' for the Carolines, Kentucky Blues, Louisian', Lucky Kentucky, Mississippi Delta Blues, Roll Along Kentucky Moon, Round on the End and High in the Middle Ohio, Sweet Indiana Home, and Under a Texas Moon.

"From the September, 1941, edition of the same: Alabama Stomp, Alabama Lullaby, California Lullaby, Come Back to the Mississippi Shore, Kentucky Sure as You're Born, Marching Through Georgia, Maryland My Maryland, My Ohio Home, My Old Kentucky Home, O'er the Hills of Dear Old Maine, Take Me

Back to Col-Ler-Rad-Da Fer to Stay, and Tumbledown Ranch in Arizona.

"*Song Hits*, October, 1942: Deliver Me to Tennessee, Idaho, Kentucky, Massachusetts.

"*Super Song Book*, July, 1942: Blue Indiana Skies, Bay State Shuffle, Can't Get Indiana Off My Mind.

"*Songmaster*, January, 1942: Bay State Shuffle, Idaho Moon, and Just a Little Bit South of North Carolina.

"*Hit Parader*, October, 1943 (The latest bulletin): Blue Montana Skies, Nevada, When a Boy From Alabama, and Two Eyes in Indiana.

"(There are, of course, three I's in Illinois—but no matter.)

"And so on. Take a list of the states in any almanac or census report and start at the top, and if you have followed popular minstrelsy through the last score of years, you'll be able to sing a snatch of refrain from a song about most of the states in the Union. All but Illinois.

"Massachusetts had baffled the songsmiths for a long time. They had weaseled with songs about the Bay State, but last year they came across with a song with a lyric including these lines:

'Neath blue skies above, Massachusetts,
With the one I love, Massachusetts.
Just like Jack and Jill, Massachusetts
We'll climb Bunker Hill, Massachusetts.
Spread the news around
I'm Massachusetts-bound.'

"That stanza might serve as a standard frame for state songs in the Tin Pan Alley tradition. Blue skies, love, and hills are usual to most states. It might do, even, for Illinois—just change Bunker Hill to Tower Hill or Signal Hill. It should be noted that the lyricist ducked the chore of finding a rhyme for Massachusetts.

"After reviewing the songs which have celebrated the sister states, we in Illinois might feel proud and lucky that our state has been ignored. Some of the yearnings are pretty terrible.

"There's no way of knowing when Illinois will ring out with an 'Oh Boy' rhyme on the Hit Parade. But in the light of past experience, the best our state can hope for is an indirect celebration by reference to a more glamorous neighbor. One of these days an Illinois son or daughter far from home—possibly resident in Tin Pan Alley—will sing, while the world listens: 'Just a Little Bit West of Indiana, That's Where I Long To Be.' "

When I finished the first draft I resolved to take it home and make a clean, revised copy. So I headed for the bus terminal, but next door in the front office of Radio Station WSOY I spied Miss Easter Straker, the station's program director and a young woman

well versed in popular minstrelsy. So I stopped in and asked if she knew of any songs which mentioned Illinois in title or refrain.

She said Yes, she had heard one only the other evening. Lawrence Welk played it. . . . Could be a Decca recording titled "Down Home in Illinois" or something like that.

So there went my essay.

I walked on up the street and stopped in at the Emerson Piano House and asked to see the latest Decca record catalog. Sure enough, there was the song:

"Back Home In Illinois" Decca No. 3934. Played by Lawrence Welk.

Have I answered your query?

DAVID V. FELTS

THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

"A PROPHET IS NOT WITHOUT HONOR. . . ."

[*On November 19, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, Abraham Lincoln delivered a dedicatory address that has come to be considered one of the world's masterpieces. Here is his secretary's account of the occasion.*]

In the morning I got a beast and rode out with the President and suite to the Cemetery in the procession. The procession formed itself in an orphanly sort of way, and moved out with very little help from anybody; and after a little delay Mr. Everett took his place on the stand,—and Mr. Stockton made a prayer which thought it was an oration—and Mr. Everett spoke as he always does, perfectly; and the President, in a firm, free way, with more grace than is his wont, said his half-dozen lines of consecration,—and the music wailed, and we went home through crowded and cheering streets. And all the particulars are in the daily papers.

Letters of John Hay, I: 124-25.

"THE WIDOW ROBINSON"

"There was a time," Judge J. H. Matheny said to a reporter of the Springfield (Ill.) *Journal*, "when the penitentiary was an unknown institution in Illinois, and evil-doers were punished at the whipping-post. Every crime or misdemeanor, according to the crude laws we had at that time, was paid for with so many lashes on the bare back of the guilty man. Well do I remember when the whipping-post was established in Springfield. That was in 1828, and the post was set in the ground on the northeast corner of the square, the publicity of the whipping being one of the features of the punishment. We had no public whipping-post before that time, an impromptu post answering the purpose when one was needed. This post was about six feet high, and was a good, strong post. The first whipping occurred a short time after it was put up. The townspeople turned out in goodly numbers. As a boy I hailed the whipping as a picnic and I was there with the rest. The victim was a

man by the name of Robinson. He had stolen a bar of iron from Elijah Iles, the first merchant of Springfield and famous among the early settlers. Robinson was tried and sentenced to twenty lashes on the bare back. The day for the whipping came. Robinson was brought forth and tied to the post and his back was stripped. It fell to the lot of the Sheriff to do the whipping. The Sheriff at that time was James D. Henry, who afterward became famous as a General in the Black Hawk war, and who was the real conqueror of old Black Hawk. Henry was a tender-hearted man, and, as he had never officiated at a whipping before, he naturally went to work with some trembling and trepidation. In this "rattled" state of mind the first blow he struck Robinson was a tremendous one. The victim uttered a fierce yell and started around the post. His arms were simply thrust around the post and his hands tied together. He was thus enabled to go around the post as many times as he pleased. The Sheriff followed him and excitedly struck at him with the rawhide. The scene was a very grotesque one, and a shout of laughter went up from the spectators. When the last of the twenty lashes had been dealt out, the Sheriff had not struck the criminal more than twice, and Robinson was released without having any mark to tell of his whipping except the welt raised by the first blow. When the next morning dawned a rude wooden figure of a woman's head, with a bonnet on it, was nailed to the top of the post. Under this figure was written the following inscription: THE WIDOW ROBINSON.

"Ever afterward that post was known as 'the Widow Robinson,' and when anybody did anything bad people said: 'That man will have to hug the widow.' "

J. F. SNYDER SCRAPBOOK (Ill. State Historical Library).

PLEA IN DEFENSE

In 1845, three men forced their way into the house of Mr. Strawn about midnight. One of them, with a loaded revolver in his hand approached the bedside of Mr. Strawn and his wife, and threatened them with instant death if they made any resistance or gave the least alarm, and demanded their money.

"What I have," said the old gentleman, "you will find in that bureau drawer."

"You have more than this," exclaimed one of the company.

"Here is only one hundred dollars and these two old watches. They are not of much use to us."

"Come, old man, we must have more than this, or we will kill you, and set fire to your house and roast the whole of you."

"That is all I have. If you kill me, you will find no more."

. . . . Mr. Strawn was supposed to be immensely rich, having several thousand acres of the very best prairie land on which he grazed his numerous herds of cattle, and making large sales every month. It was natural for these robbers to suppose he had more money on hand than he had represented.

"Well," said one of the assassins, "before we take your word for it, we will look still further. And whom have you in this room?"

"A Methodist clergyman," said Mr. Strawn. "I hope you will not trouble him; he is a poor man, with an afflicted family, on his way home from his Quarterly meeting, and they have paid him but little money."

"A Methodist preacher? We will soon dispatch him. It is no crime to kill a preacher, especially a Methodist preacher. They are sure of heaven, and we can soon relieve him of his poverty. What say you, boys; shall I wind up his ministry or let him still preach and pray for such sinners as we are?"

So saying he entered the room, "See here, Mr. Preacher, I want your money!"

He said he had but little, and was now on his way home, to his family who were destitute of almost everything to eat.

"No parley as to poverty. Tell me where your money is, and your watch. I never killed a minister but what had a watch. Come, be quick, or I shall blow your brains out."

The poor brother, preferring to go home to his afflicted family than going to heaven that night, gave him his six dollars and his watch; and as the assassin came out of the room, he said to those who were standing guard and waiting his return:

"See here, boys, this is the best thing out. If we are arrested for robbing this old man and preacher, all that will be required of us is to plead insanity, for there is not a jury or a man that would believe for a moment that any person in his right mind would think of robbing a Methodist minister with the expectation of finding any money."

E. C. GAVITT, *Crumbs from my Saddle Bags*, 222-25.

PIERRE MENARD: ECONOMIST

To remedy these evils, [lack of currency, bank notes of uncertain value] the legislature of 1821 created a State Bank. It was founded without money, and wholly on the credit of the State. It was authorized to issue one, two, three, five, ten and twenty dollar notes, in the likeness of bank bills, bearing two per cent. annual interest, and payable by the State in ten years. A principal bank was established at Vandalia, and four or five branches in other places; the legislature elected all the directors and officers; a large number of whom were members of the legislature, and all of them professional politicians. The bank was directed by law to lend its bills to the people, to the amount of one hundred dollars, on personal security; and upon the security of mortgages upon land for a greater sum. These bills were to be receivable in payment of all State and county taxes, and for all costs and fees, and salaries of public officers; and if a creditor refused to endorse on his execution his willingness to receive them in payment of debt, the debtor could replevy or stay its collection for three years, by giving personal security. So infatuated were this legislature with this absurd bank project, that the members firmly believed that the notes of this bank would remain at par with gold and silver; and they could readily prove their belief to be well-founded; for the most difficult argument to answer is one founded partly upon fact, but mostly upon guess work and conjecture. As an evidence of the belief of the legislature to this effect, the journals show that a resolution was passed, requesting the secretary of the treasury of the United States, to receive these notes into the land offices in payment for the public lands. When this resolution was put to the vote in the Senate, the old French lieutenant-governor, Col. Menard, presiding over that body, did up the business as follows: "Gentlemen of *de* Senate, it is moved and seconded *dat de* notes of *dis* bank be made land office money. All in favor of *dat* motion, say aye; all against it, say no. It is decided in *de* affirmative. And now, gentlemen, *I bet you one hundred dollar he never be made land office money.*" The county of Menard, on the Sangamon river, was named in honor of him; and the name could not have been more worthily bestowed.

THOMAS FORD, *History of Illinois*, 45-46.

NEWS AND COMMENT

The forty-fourth annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society opened at Dixon on Friday evening, October 15, with more than 150 people in attendance. Graham Hutton, director of the British Information Services in Chicago, spoke on the subject, "An Englishman's View of the Middle West." Jewell F. Stevens, retiring president, presided. Members of the Society reassembled at 9:00 the next morning for the annual business meeting. At 11:00 A.M., the Lincoln statue, located near the Rock River, was visited. Here Judge George C. Dixon, of Dixon, spoke on "Lincoln and the Black Hawk War." He also included in his remarks a history of the statue, which was executed by Leonard Crunelle. At noon an outdoor luncheon was served in Lowell Park, three miles north of Dixon. Mrs. Beatrice H. Lanphier, Dixon, spoke on "Lowell Park and its History" at the conclusion of the luncheon. "Hazelwood," long famous as the estate of "Governor" Alexander Charters and now owned by Mrs. Charles R. Walgreen, was visited at 2:30 P.M. Mrs. Walgreen spoke briefly of the early history of the estate and served tea in the log cabin, which was built in 1837. About eighty-five persons were in attendance.

Wayne C. Townley, Bloomington, was elected president of the Society. Theodore C. Pease, Urbana, was named senior vice-president; and Oscar C. Hayward, Winnetka, was elected a vice-president. Other officers and directors were re-elected. The Society voted to hold its annual meeting in 1944 unless wartime conditions make meetings impossible, but postponed the selection of a meeting place.

For several years one of the primary objectives of the Illinois State Historical Society has been the encouragement of the teaching of Illinois history in the schools of the state. During the past three months, a notable advance towards the attainment of that objective has been made.

Two years ago, after careful study, a committee of the Society

concluded that the best means of encouraging the teaching of Illinois history in the high schools was to emphasize it, and use it for illustrative purposes, in connection with the standard course in American history. To that end Dr. Richard L. Beyer, professor of history at the Southern Illinois Normal University, and Paul M. Angle, the Society's secretary, were asked to prepare a handbook for the use of teachers. The handbook, a combination of narratives and bibliographies, was published in *Papers in Illinois History, 1941*, under the title, "A Handbook of Illinois History."

In September of this year 2,500 copies of the "Handbook" were reprinted as separates. One copy was sent to the principal of every secondary school in the state, with a letter offering additional copies for teachers without charge. The response was immediate and excellent. The "Handbook" was approved for use in all Chicago high schools, and requests for teachers' copies have come from schools of all kinds and sizes in all parts of the state. Although the "Handbook" has been available for only three months, approximately 1,500 copies have already been distributed.

The Society has now done all it can as far as Illinois history in the secondary schools of the state is concerned. The rest is up to teachers and school administrators.

A copy of the *Randolph Free Press*, published at Kaskaskia, Illinois, on July 23, 1832, has been received by the Illinois State Historical Library through gift of Mrs. Helen Thompson of Nashville, Illinois. No other copy of this newspaper is located by published works.

The *Free Press* was published weekly by Robert K. Fleming and the issue of July 23 indicates that it was established on June 25, 1832. Much space was given to news of the Black Hawk War. James Ford, Livingston County, Kentucky, inserted an advertisement offering $100 reward for two runaway Negroes, one of whom, Ben, "plays on the violin, with both ears cut off close to his head, which he lost for robbing a boat on the Ohio river."

Recent issues of several historical publications contain articles of Illinois interest. In the *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Epis-*

copal Church for March, 1943, appeared a well-rounded account of Jubilee College, by Percy V. Norwood. *Mid-America*, for July, contains "Lieutenant Armstrong's Expedition to the Missouri River, 1790," by Colton Storm—the story of the first official attempt to explore lands west of the Mississippi River. In the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* for September, 1943, is a series of letters by David Logan, pioneer Oregon lawyer, edited by Harry E. Pratt. David Logan was a son of Stephen T. Logan, Abraham Lincoln's second law partner.

This year the Field Museum of Natural History has celebrated its fiftieth anniversary. In connection with that event it published an illustrated brochure entitled *Fifty Years of Progress*—the Fiftieth Anniversary number of the *Field Museum Notes*. The brochure contains a summary of the institution's history by Stanley Field, its president, departmental histories, and other articles of interest.

Joshua Fry Speed, Lincoln's Most Intimate Friend, by Robert L. Kincaid,[1] is the story of the man who took Lincoln in when the lanky young lawyer decided to settle in Springfield, who knew his every thought for four years, who was his one confidant in the trying period of courtship and marriage.

To most students of Lincoln's life, Speed has been known only as Lincoln's friend. Mr. Kincaid, however, shows that he was a man of substance in his own right. In Louisville, Kentucky, to which he returned when he left Springfield in 1841, he became both wealthy and influential. A Unionist, he did his not-negligible best to hold Kentucky loyal in 1861; and throughout the war he was Lincoln's most trusted agent in the Blue Grass State.

The letters which Lincoln wrote to Speed in 1841 and 1842 are widely known. The texts, with suitable annotations by Harry E. Pratt, form the second part of this publication.

Illinois Public Works, a quarterly publication of the State Department of Public Works and Buildings, made its initial appearance in October. Its columns are devoted to the chief activities of the five

[1] Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tenn. $2.50.

divisions of the Department—Highways, Waterways, Parks, Motor Carriers, and Architecture and Engineering.

Articles describing past activities of the various divisions as well as their plans for postwar projects are included in the first issue of this magazine. It is profusely illustrated with pictures of public buildings, highways, grade separations, parks and park facilities, waterways, and bridges.

Marshall Wheeler is editor of the new publication which is distributed free. All the work involved in its preparation is done by employees of the Department of Public Works and Buildings.

The fifteenth annual old settlers' picnic sponsored by the Aurora Historical Society was held in Aurora on August 25. Judge Olney C. Allen paid a fitting tribute to the late Frank G. Plain, former president of the Aurora Society, to whom the day's program was dedicated. The main address of the day was given by Judge Win G. Knoch. A series of five-minute interviews with old settlers was also included on the program. John F. Holslag was chairman of the program committee and Mrs. Maud N. Peffers was in charge of the registration booth.

Efforts of the citizens of Aurora to secure an income of $3,600 a year to maintain the musuem of the Aurora Historical Society have met with almost complete success. Only a small fraction of the sum sought remains to be pledged.

The Boone County Historical Society has recently received several donations of considerable historical interest. About fifty original photographs of the Columbian Exposition of 1893 have been donated by Mr. and Mrs. Everett Tripp. In another collection, presented by Miss Grace Hollenshead, are a number of group photographs of various school classes in Belvidere. Pictures of classes of more than fifty years ago are included in this collection.

The guest register of the Bureau County Historical Society shows the names of 1,621 visitors during the past year. Representatives

from twenty-four states besides Illinois are included. Numerous exhibits are on display in the museum, which occupies three large rooms in the basement of the courthouse in Princeton. Admission is free, and the doors are open to the public on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays from 1:00 to 5:00 P.M.

The annual meeting of the Lawndale-Crawford Historical Association (Chicago), honoring about a hundred old settlers of the district, was held on September 24. The fiftieth anniversary of the World's Columbian Exposition was also observed at this meeting. Numerous photographs relating to the days of 1893 were on display.

The West Side Historical Society (Chicago) held its annual early settlers' meeting on October 11. The main feature of the program was the reunion of the King School, located on Harrison Street near Western Avenue. The first part of the program was given over to personal reminiscences of former King students. This was followed by an illustrated talk on "The King School, Past and Present," by Mrs. Mabel S. Becker, present principal of the school. The annual exhibit sponsored by the Society was held at the Legler Library between October 11 and 25. Photographs of early West Side scenes were on display at this time.

The large collection of relics owned by Dr. W. H. Brosman, Albion dentist for many years, is now on display in the museum of the Edwards County Historical Society. The exhibit, which consists of more than seventy items, was formerly displayed in the waiting room of Dr. Brosman's office.

At the October meeting of the Society, Miss Katharyne Weaver gave a paper on Albion's libraries. Shortly after Albion became a town, books brought from England were placed in the market place for the use of the public. This constituted one of the earliest public libraries in the state.

The historic old Graue mill at the Fullersburg forest preserve has been restored and was reopened on September 19. Participating in the project of restoration were the following organizations: National Park Service, Civilian Conservation Corps, Chicago Planning Commission, State Department of Public Works and Buildings, and the Hinsdale and DuPage County historical societies. Robert L. McKee, superintendent of the DuPage County forest preserve district, was master of ceremonies at the rededication program.

Frederick Graue built the original mill in 1852. Timbers and beams were hewed from trees along the Illinois and Michigan Canal, brick was made from clay on the Graue farm, and stone for trimming was hauled from Lemont. The grinding stones were shipped from France. Visitors may now see the old mill grinding corn as it did almost a century ago.

An "open house" in the new quarters of the Jersey County Historical Society in the Chapman Building in Jerseyville was held on October 11. Hostesses for the evening were attired in old-fashioned costumes and the singing of old songs and hymns was a feature of the entertainment. Histories of the Jerseyville Baptist and Presbyterian churches were also included on the program. The following persons were elected officers for the coming year: Prentiss D. Cheney, president; Arthur Thatcher, first vice-president and custodian of exhibits; Mrs. Leola Henry, second vice-president and historian; Mrs. Helen Updike, secretary; Mrs. Fred A. DuHadway, treasurer. The following committee chairmen have been named: Mrs. T. S. Chapman, program; Mrs. A. F. Ely, membership; George Brainerd and Mrs. Sarah Schwarz, committee-at-large.

The directors of the McLean County Historical Society are considering the possibility of publishing a history of McLean County's part in World War II at some future date. A committee has been appointed to study the project. The directors of the Society are appealing to all citizens to preserve letters from men in active service in this war. Many of these will be of great value to those who write the history of McLean County in World War II.

The Wilson and Scott families, early settlers of the Mt. Zion area, were the subject of discussion at the September meeting of the Macon County Historical Society in Decatur. A paper written on these families by Mrs. Leslie Scott was read by Mrs. F. C. Blair.

A meeting of the Maywood Historical Society was held on September 30 at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Harry Klug on North 2nd Avenue. A paper on the history of the Klug home, which was erected by Gottetreu Weiss about 1857, was read by E. P. Benjamin.

The Maywood Historical Socity is preserving newspaper clippings relating to local men and women in the armed services.

Members of the Peoria Historical Society held a dinner meeting in Peoria on October 18. The history of the Keystone Steel and Wire Company was discussed by J. O. Maize. H. L. Spooner, program chairman, gave a report on program schedules for the coming year.

The fall meeting of the Rock Island County Historical Society was held in Moline on September 2. Following the dinner, a radio drama, "Corn—the Crop that Made America Great," was presented by a cast of fifteen persons.

At the corn festival sponsored by the Society in Black Hawk State Park on September 5, descendants of the Sauk and Fox Indians who planted corn on the park area more than a hundred years ago, presented harvest time ceremonies and other traditional dances. Arrangements for the Indians to come from their homes in Iowa and Oklahoma were made by John H. Hauberg.

The "Public Well," familiar landmark on the Old Shawneetown-St. Louis road, has recently been restored. The historic old watering place is located on State Route 149 near West Frankfort. A curbing has been built around the well and two old oaken buckets, attached to a chain, are operated on a pulley.

The following persons will serve as officers for the Stark County Historical Society for the coming year: H. W. Walker, president; Dr. W. F. Jones, vice-president; Miss Annie Lowman, secretary; Miss Clare McKenzie, treasurer; Mrs. Florence Kinney, custodian. The annual meeting of the Society was held in Toulon on September 28. On this occasion the directors voted to invest $200 in war bonds.

Preliminary steps toward the formation of a Stephenson County Historical Society have recently been taken and it is believed that an active organization will soon be functioning. Several years ago, Mrs. Frank Bass bequeathed the sum of $5,000 to a society for collecting and preserving historical records and objects pertaining to the early history of the community. Her will stipulated that $1,000 additional should be raised within five years of the time of her death, which would mean by April 6, 1944. At the invitation of the Freeport Chamber of Commerce, several meetings have been held to discuss the method of procedure. Various clubs and civic groups of Freeport are taking an active part in the organization of the society.

The July meeting of the Winnebago County Historical Society was held on the grounds of the Tinker cottage on Kent Creek in Rockford. After an outdoor program, members were escorted through the cottage which was built by Robert H. Tinker in the Sixties. The Rockford Park Board maintains the building, which is not open to the public except by special arrangement.

CONTRIBUTORS

Dr. John Francis Snyder, of Virginia, Illinois, was one of the founders of the Illinois State Historical Society and its President from 1904 to 1905. This interesting and valuable reminiscence was written in 1908. With Dr. Snyder's other papers and correspondence, it was donated to the Society by his daughter, Miss Isabel Snyder of Virginia. Dr. Snyder died in 1921. . . . G. E. Nelson, as his article

makes clear, was largely responsible for the organization of the Old Salem Lincoln League. He is now an attorney in Springfield. . . . Clarence P. McClelland is President of MacMurray College, Jacksonville, and is an occasional contributor to the publications of the Illinois State Historical Society.

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